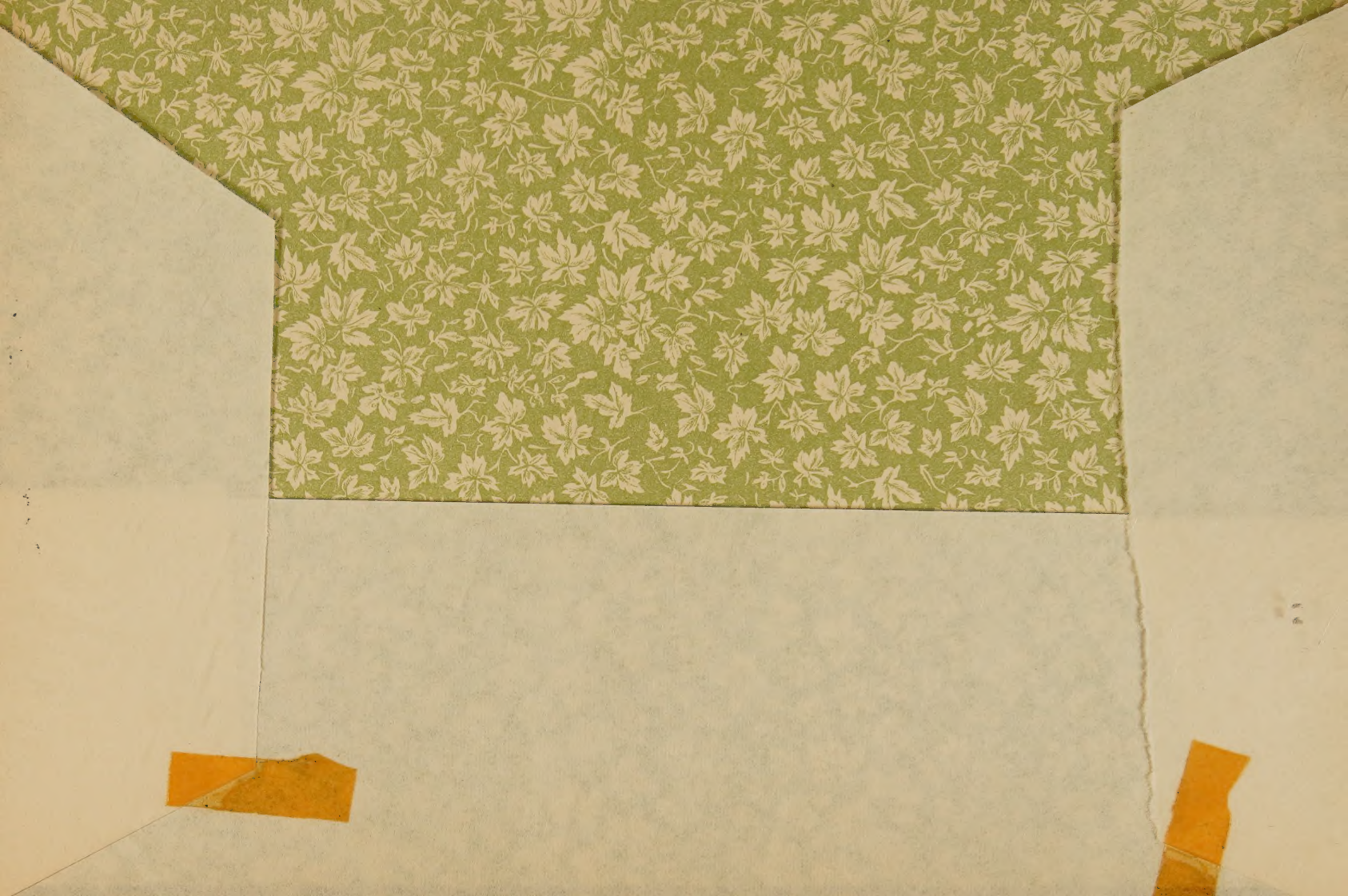

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A GRAMMAR

OF THE

ARAMAIC IDIOM

CONTAINED IN THE

BABYLONIAN TALMUD

WITH CONSTANT REFERENCE TO
GAONIC LITERATURE

BY
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CINCINNATI
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TO

THE REV. DR. ISAAC M. WISE

THE VENERABLE PRESIDENT OF THE

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

CINCINNATI, O.

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY THE

AUTHOR

PREFACE.

The literature on the grammar of the idiom of the Babylonian Talmud is very scanty. There are only four works which require mention.[1] S. D. Luzzatto published in 1865 a short sketch of the Talmudic idiom intended as a handbook for his students.[2] This excellent little work, though not quite satisfactory when judged by our present standards, will always retain a certain value to the student of our subject, as the chief linguistic phenomena were noticed and, on the whole, correctly explained by the author. In 1879 Dr. G. Ruelph published his inaugural dissertation, *Zur Lautlehre der aramaeisch talmudischen Dialekte. I. Die Kehllaute*, in which the author discusses the comparative treatments of the gutturals in both Talmudim. This work is a valuable contribution to Talmudic phonetics, and it is to be regretted that the author has not continued the subject. In 1888 Dr. A. Rosenberg published a dissertation, *Das aramaeische Verbum im babylonischen Talmud*, which is a good, though not exhaustive, exposition of the verbal forms in the Talmud. Lastly, in 1895 Dr. Liebermann published his inaugural thesis: *Das Pronomen und das Adverbium des babylonisch-talmudischen Dialektes*, a work incomplete and a mere compilation. Besides the above works, Noeldeke's excellent Mandaic grammar, although not bearing directly upon our subject, contains many valuable references to the Babylonian Talmud, and has been of great help to the present author.

I also made use of the Talmud MSS. in possession of Columbia College, containing the treatises מגלה, מועד קטן, זבחים, פסחים and Alfâsi's compendium of ביצה. These MSS. have some words

[1] *Cf.* also J. Levy, "Notes de grammaire Judéo-Babylonienne," *RÊJ.*, I., 212-221; and M. Lewin, *Aramäische Sprüchwörter und Volkssprüche*, pp. 24-28.

[2] *Elementi grammat. del Caldeo-Biblico e del dial. Talm. Babilonese*, Padua, 1865. Germ. translation by M. S. Krueger, Breslau, 1873; Engl. translation by J. S. Goldammer, New York, 1867; Hebrew translation of the second part by Ch. Z. Lerner, St. Petersburg, 1880.

vocalized. Whenever that vocalization is referred to, this is expressly stated.

The author has adopted the use of the vowel-signs in order to secure a greater degree of clearness and exactness in exposition than would otherwise have been possible. This, however, does not imply any claim to having succeeded in restoring the original vocalization.

Some valuable suggestions embodied in this work I owe to my esteemed teacher, Dr. Paul Haupt, Professor of Semitic languages in the Johns Hopkins University.

INTRODUCTION.

The Babylonian Talmud is written partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic. The latter is a dialect of upper Babylonia, still spoken in the eleventh century,[1] and is closely akin to the Mandaic.[2] We find no special name for this dialect, it being generally spoken of as אֲרָמִית or לְשׁוֹן אֲרָמִי, an appellation used also for other Aramaic dialects.[3]

The Babylonian Talmud, or, more precisely, the Babylonian Gemârâ, was committed to writing about 500 A. D., but did not receive its final shape before the close of the eighth century. It is a compilation of literary productions extending, in the main, over a period of nearly three centuries (200–500). Earlier elements are found in the formulæ of legal documents, in extracts from *Meghillath Ta'anîth* and from encyclicals of the patriarch R. Gamliel II. All these belong to the Palestinean Aramaic, and

[1] *Cf.* C. Levias, *AJP.*, XVI., p. 35, note 4; in reprint, p. 8, note 4.

[2] Noeldeke, *MG.*, xxvi, *sq.*

[3] For other names of Judaeo-Aramaic, *cf.* Dalman, *GJPA.*, 1 *sq.* and p. 340. Jepheth ben Ali in his commentary on Daniel calls Aramaic لغة الفارسيّة, which is probably a mistake for لغة الفريسيّة the language of the Pharisees. His compiler in the ס' העשר renders it by לְשׁוֹן רַבָּנִים. Vide D. S. Margoliouth's note on p. 7 of his edition of said commentary (*Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series*, I.). R. Çemaḥ Gāôn in his answer with reference to Eldad, quoted by Epstein in his edition of *Eldad ha-Dânî*, p. 7, says: אלא בתלמוד שאנשי בבל גורסין אותו בלשון ארמית ובני ארץ ישראל לשונם לשון תרגום; *cf.* Epstein's note, *ibid*, p. 20. Maimonides in his *Dalâlât al-ḥâ'irîn* (I., ch. 74) quotes the Talmudic proverb ערבד ערבא צריך as used عند السريان, which is rendered by Falaquera (מורה המורה p. 64) by אצל בעלי התרגום. Dunaš, in his תשובות ed. Schroeter, calls also the Aramaic of the Targumim לשון כשדי, while Parchon calls also Bibl. Aramaic תרגום. The author of ספר השהם calls Bibl. Aramaic now תרגום (rad. מלא, מלח, סתר), now לשון ארמי (rad. סעד), now לשון סוריאני (rad. כפת, חרך) or לשון סוריני (rad. גזר). An anonymous writer in Arabic calls our dialect נבטית *Nabatean* (*cf.* Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, VI., 69). E. Levita in his preface to his מתורגמן classes the Aramaic of the Bible, of the Targum Onkelos, of pseudo-Jonathan and of the Talmud Babli as לשון בבל as opposed to the לשון ירושלמי of the Targum Jerushalmi and the Talmud Jerushalmi.

are cited in this work under the designation *legal style*. To an older stage of language belong also magical formulæ, exorcisms and some proverbs. To a later period belong minor additions of the Saboraim and Geonim.[1]

As might have been expected from the compilatory nature of the Talmud, its language is not uniform, but shows traces of various stages of development. Originally, the dialectical and chronological variations must have been quite marked. But in course of time these differences were smoothed down by later scholars, familiar forms and expressions being substituted for rare ones, and dialectical characteristics have thus largely been obliterated.

Traces of a more original character have been preserved in a few treatises containing laws of no practical application after the destruction of the Temple. Such treatises were not frequently studied in the schools and therefore were not subjected to the process of obliteration as much as other parts of the Talmud. Here belong, among others, Tāmîd, Meʿîlā, Temûrā, Nedārîm and Nāzîr, especially the two last mentioned treatises. They are marked by older forms of the possessive suffixes ־כוֹן, ־יכוֹן, ־הוֹן, ־יהוֹן, for ־כוּ, ־יכוּ, ־הוּ, ־יהוּ; by the demonstratives הָדֵּין, הָדָא, הָלֵּין and the personal pronouns אַנְתָּ and אִנּוּן; by the forms אִנְתָּא, מִדֵּעַם, דִּילִי, for the usual מִידֵּי, אִתְּתָא, דִּידִי; by the more frequent use of יָת and such expressions as תִּיבְּעֵי for תֵּיקוּ *the question remains undecided*, אִינְּשֵׁי or אֵינָשֵׁי אֵירֵי בְּהוֹן for מַאן דְּכַר שְׁמֵיהּ *who spoke of it?*! יָאוּת *well*, יָאֲלֵי or וָאֲלֵי *proper*. I am also under the impression that the nota dativi לֵיהַלָּא, so common in other treatises, is wanting in Ned. and Nāzîr.

In some places dialectical expressions are specially mentioned as such in the Talmud. A collection of such expressions has been made by Adolph Bruell in his *Fremdsprachliche Redensarten und ausdrücklich als fremdsprachlich bezeichnete Wörter in den Talmuden und Midraschim*. Leipzig, 1869.

[1] For editions of the Talmud *cf.* Rabbinovicz, מאמר על הדפסת התלמוד in Vol. VIII. of his *Variae Lectiones*. Literary and methodological introductions have been written by H. L. Strack, *Einleitung in den Talmud*, 2d ed., 1894, and M. Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, Cincinnati, 1894. The last mentioned work is indispensable to a proper understanding of Talmudical discussions.

The lexicography of the Talmud has been treated of late by J. Levy in his *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1876–1889; by A. Kohut in his *Aruch Completum*, Vols. I.–VIII., Vienna, 1878–1892, *Supplement to Aruch Completum*, New York, 1892; and by M. Jastrow in his *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, London and New York, 1886, *sq.* (still unfinished).

The text of the Talmud is in a very unsatisfactory condition and a critical edition of it is much to be desired. An invaluable contribution to textual criticism is R. Rabbinovicz's great, though unfinished work, *Variae Lectiones in Mischnam et in Talmud Babylonicum*, Vols. I.–XV., Munich, 1867–1886.

A critical edition of the Talmud is not to be expected in the near future. The preliminary work required for such an undertaking — the completion of the work begun by the late Rabbinovicz, and critical editions of the early commentators and epitomizers — will require some time. For the present, the edition of single treatises in a handy form and esthetic garb, with such critical exactness as is at present attainable, is very much to be desired. Specimens of such editions have been given by Mr. M. Friedman[1] and Professor H. L. Strack.[2]

It is also to be hoped that the various languages and dialects contained in post-biblical Jewish literature be also separately treated lexicographically.

The language, as it has come down to us, was in the main the spoken language of the time. This is evident from the numerous proverbs and other haggadic elements recorded in the Talmud. But the scholastic terminology is essentially an artificial product of the scholars. The vocabulary contains a number of words borrowed from the Persian, but very few words of Greek and Latin. The few words of classical origin occurring in Aramaic phraseology are probably borrowed from Palestinean literature, and did not belong to the language of the people.[3] Its orthog-

[1] "Babylonischer Talmud, Tractat Makkoth," in *Verhandlungen des VII., intern. Orientalisten Congresses*, Wien, 1886 (printed 1888).

[2] The treatises of the Mišnā: *Yōmâ*, *'Abōdā*, *Zârā*, *'Abōth*, and *Sabbath* (Schriften des Inst. Jud. in Berlin).

[3] Upon examination of Buxtorf's Lexicon, C. R. Conder gives a list of thirty-seven Greek loan-words to be found exclusively in the Babylonian Talmud (*cf. Proc. of PEF.*, 1890, 324), but his data are not trustworthy.

raphy is in the main phonetic, but there is ground for the belief that the gutturals were less distinguished in actual speech than might be inferred from the orthography.

Further literature in the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud is to be found in portions of the liturgy, in the later Midrāšîm[1] and in the works of the Geonim. The latter extend over a period of about 400 years (c. 750–1138). To this class belong the שְׁאֵלְתוֹת of 'Aḥai of Šabḥâ, ed. princ. Venice, 1546; הֲלָכוֹת גְּדוֹלוֹת of Simon Qiyyârâ, ed. pr. Venice, 1548. Another version of this work was published by I. Hildesheimer, Berlin, 1888–1892;[2] אִגֶּרֶת רַ׳ שְׁרִירָא גָּאוֹן latest edition by A. Neubauer in *Mediæval Jewish Chronicles* (*Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series*, I., 4, Oxford, 1887) and the Aramaic תְּשׁוּבוֹת הַגְּאוֹנִים, for the literature of which *cf.* Z. Frankel, *Entwurf einer Geschichte der Litteratur der nachtalmudischen Responsen*, Breslau, 1865, and J. Mueller, מַפְתֵּחַ לִתְשׁוּבוֹת הַגְּאוֹנִים, Berlin, 1891.

The language of the Gaonic literature shows the influence of the Targum; and this is especially the case in the forms of the possessive and enclitic personal suffixes, and in the retention of the final *nûn* in the plural of nouns, verbs, and participles.

[1] *Cf.* Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[2] This work contains older elements.

I. SCRIPT AND ORTHOGRAPHY

SCRIPT.

Letters.[1]—§ 1. The alphabet used in the Talmud, the number of letters, and their phonetic values are the same as in Hebrew.

Vowels.—§ 2. No vowel-signs are used in the Talmud. Traditional pronunciation employs the whole variety of vowel-sounds found in the Masoretic text of the Bible. סְגוֹל is rare, the preference being given to צֵרֵי or חִירֵק.

Numerals.—§ 3. The letters of the alphabet are also used for numerals. א–ט are used for units; י–צ, for tens; ק–ת, for 100–400. Compound numbers are expressed by composition, the larger numeral being placed on the right: יב 12, לד 34, קכג 123. Numbers higher than 499 are expressed: 500 by תק; 600, תר; 700, תש; 800, תת; 900, תתק, etc.[2] When the letters are used within the text with numerical value they always have the sign of abbreviation (§ 6): כ״ח, 28; ג׳, 3; קל״ה, 135.[3] When used for pagination, the sign of abbreviation is omitted.

Reading of Numerals.—§ 4. When the number consists of one or of two letters, the names of the letters are read. Thus, ג׳ is not read תְּלָתָא or תְּלַת, which it represents, but גִּימֶל; so ר״ה, ש״ב are read רֵישׁ הֵא, שִׁין בֵּית. Numbers containing more than two signs are read either as above, or are vocalized; *e. g.*, תְּתַק״ל, 900; תַּרְ״יג, 613; רְמַ״ח, 248.

[1] For the names of the letters *cf.* Hamburger, *Real-Encycl. f. Bibel u. Talmud, Supplem.*, article "Grammatik." Notice also the usual pronunciation of the following names of letters Alleph, Gimmel, Dalled, Ḥēth, Ṭēth, Yûd, Kâph, Lammed, Sammekh, Çaddîq (Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gram.*, 22), Qûph. *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 26 זָן for זַיִן, § 49 has לָבָד for לָמֶד (*cf.* Samaritan Labad, Petermann, *Gram. sam.*, p. 2, written לבאת, Munk, *TM.* 10); Col. MS. (Meg. end) voc. גַּיְמָל; *HG.* has וָאו for וָאו. The forms of the names of the letters in post-Gaonic literature I shall give in my *Dictionary of Philological Terminology in Hebrew and Aramaic*, now in preparation.

[2] In later Hebrew thousands are expressed by units with dots over them. Thus א֗, 1000; ב֗, 2000; ה֗, 5000. Numbers from 500–900 are expressed in Masoretic writings by the final letters ך-ץ. In writing, the final letters are always written on the left: גץ = 903.

[3] In MSS. we find sometimes other signs used. Thus תרי״ג may be written תתריג or תתּריג.

Diacritical Signs.—§ 5. דָּגֵשׁ and שְׁבָא[1] like the vowel signs do not occur in the text. The end of a section is indicated by a double point (:).[2] The same sign marks the end of a quotation from the Mišnā at the head of a section. The employment of this sign is not always consistent. Minor subdivisions are not marked.

§ 6. A word not written out in full is followed by a slanting stroke above the line.[3] Thus, ר׳, גמ׳, for רַבִּי or רַב, גְּמָרָא. If two or more consecutive words are abbreviated a double stroke is written in the middle. Thus, ת״ר, מ״ש, קמ״ל, for תָּנוֹ רַבָּנָן, מאי שְׁנָא, קָא מַשְׁמַע לָן. The signs are employed to mark letters used as numerals (§ 3) or the names of the letters of the alphabet. Thus אל״ף, בי״ת, גימ״ל, דל״ת *'Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth*, to distinguish them from אֶלֶף *thousand*, בַּיִת *house*, etc.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

Vowels.—§ 7. The vowels *ō*, *ô*, *ŏ*, *û* and *ŭ* are invariably indicated by ו: אֶקְטוֹל *I shall kill;* מִיתָא *death;* אָחֳרִי *another* (f.); אָמְרוּ *they said;* גּוּבְרָא *man.* The mater lectionis ו is sometimes omitted in verbs with consonantal ו as second stem-consonant: לְאַשְׁוֹיֵי *to make even.*

§ 8. The vowels *ē*, *ê*, *ĕ*, *ī*, *î* and *ĭ* are usually indicated by the mater lectionis י:[4] תַּעֲבִיד *thou wilt do;* בֵּיתָא *house;* אֵיסַק *I shall go up;* אָמְרִין *they say;* מִית *died;* אִין *if;* אֵיזִיל or זִיל *go thou.* But the י is sometimes omitted. This is generally the case with words common to both Aramaic and Hebrew; *e. g.*, מְשַׁלֵּם *pays;* מְפָרֵשׁ *explains;* מְתָרֵץ *answers.*[5]

§ 9. The vowel *ā* or *â*, when final, is marked by א; less frequently by ה. The latter is usually the case in the feminine ending of the verb. Inter-consonantal *ā* or *â* is seldom indicated by א, never by ה. This is the case in MSS. and later literature more frequently than in the printed text: מַלְכְּתָא *queen;* שַׁבְּתָא *Sabbath, week;* בִּישָׁא *evil, bad;* שְׁכִיבָא *is about to die;* בַּשֵּׁילָה

[1] For the etymology of the term *cf.* C. Levias, *AJP.*, xvi, 28–37, and Am. Journ. of Sem. Lang. and Lit., XIII., pp. 79–80.

[2] In MSS. one point is sometimes used instead.

[3] In MSS. we find frequently instead of the *stroke* a *dot* on the last letter.

[4] א to mark צרי is found only in יְהֵא *he will be*, תְּהֵא *she will be*, which belong to Mišnic Hebrew.

[5] *Cf.* also Levy, *Neuh. Wb.*, s. v. זְרַח.

she cooked; מְצִיאָ *she is able;* אָמְרָה *she says;* הָאוֹז *is fit;* אֵיצְיֵאתָה *rows;* מְלֵיאָן *are full.* The adjective ending *ā'ā* is always spelled אָה—.

§ 10. פַּתַח is generally not indicated. Exceptions are מַאן = מַן *who*, in order to distinguish it from מִן *from;* and verbs with a guttural as third stem-consonant, and consonantal ו as second stem-consonant, in order to mark the *a*-vowel: לִישַׁוּאר *let him jump;* מְדוּאר *goes about.*

§ 11. The diphthongs *āi* and *ăi*, when final, are generally indicated by אי, seldom by יי; when inter-consonantal, by יי, rarely by אי: חֲדָאי נַפְשָׁאי *rejoice my soul;* בָּתְרַיְיתָא *last* (f.); קָאֵימָא *stands.*

§ 12. Final *au* occurs only in לָאו *not*, a contraction of לָא + הִוא; inter-consonantal *au* is indicated by וו: הָוְוָשָׁא *treading;* דְּוְוקָא *exactness;* שָׁוְוכָא *thorn* (§ 80).

§ 13. Vocal *ševâ* is frequently denoted by י, *e. g.*, עְיבֵיד *do*, אֱינָשׁ *man*, שְׁיהֵי *tarrying*, פְּיהֵי *running about.* This is especially the case in the imperfect, at times also in the infinitive and participle of ע״י and other verbs, and was probably pronounced as a full vowel.[1] According to Dalman,[2] the Sabbioneta edition of Onkelos and the Masora of that Targum frequently vocalize the prefixes of the imperfect and infinitive of ע״י verbs with *i* followed by *dāghēš* of the first stem-consonant, or, in case of resolution, by *ē*, by analogy with ע״ע verbs. To this he remarks in a note: "The tendency of the forms q^{e}tāl, q^{e}tūl to pass into qittāl, qittūl, is also elsewhere to be observed (*cf.* Barth, *Nominalbildung*, 196).... Mere lengthening of *ševâ* to a full vowel may besides be attributable to careless speaking (*cf.* Safir, *'Eben Sappîr*, I. 55 *a*)." To this I would add, that in the recently discovered oldest system of vocalization we find *i*, *ĕ*, or *ă* for vocal *ševâ*, the latter having no special sign at all.[3] It seems, therefore, that the development of *ševâ* in Hebrew and Judeo-Aramaic is of a later date than in Syriac.

[1] *Cf.* C. Levias, *AJP.* XVI. 30 (reprint p. 3). *Cf.* also Sal. Geiger, *Zion*, II. 6: *Heḥālûç*, II. 153; A. Geiger, *Nachgel. Schriften*, V., Hebr. part, p. 7 *sq.*

[2] *Grammatik des jüd.-pal. Aramäisch*, § 70, 3.

[3] *Cf.* Friedlander, *PSBA.*, XVIII., March, 1896, p. 90.

II. PHONOLOGY.

A. CONSONANTS.[1]

General Remarks.—§ 14. As in the cognate Aramaic dialects ד represents both original ד and ז; *e. g.*, ד: דִּבְשָׁא *honey*, דַּיָּנָא *judge*: ז: דֵּן *this*, דְּקְנָא *beard*.—ח represents both ח and כ; *e. g.*, ח: חַכִּים *wise*, חֶלְמָא *dream*, חֲמָרָא *ass*; כ: אַחֲרִינָא *another*, חתם *to sign*; חתר[2] *to break in*.—ט represents ט and ת; *e. g.*, ט: טַעֲמָא *taste, reason*, טמא *to be unclean*; ת: טוּפְרָא *nail*, טוּנָא *load*, טוּרָא *mountain*.[3]—ע represents ע, ג, and צ; *e. g.*, ע: עִזְקָא *ring*, עָלְמָא *world*, עַשְׂרָא *ten*; ג: עוּרְבָּא *raven*, עֵיבָא *cloud*, עלל *to enter, go in*; צ: בֵּיעָה *egg*, ערע or ארע *to happen, befall*, בַּרְעָא *disease*.—שׂ has been retained in אֲרִיסְתָּא (also אֲרִיסָתָא) *a certain meal*, בִּשְׂרָא *meat, flesh*, עשׂר *to compel*, עֲשַׂר *ten*, עַשְׂרִין *twenty* (but סַר, סְרֵי, in compound numbers), שׂבע *to be satiated*, שִׂטְנָא *Satan*, שִׂנְאוּתָא *hatred* (but סנא *to hate*), שְׂפָתָא *lip*, שִׂפְכָא *mustache*, שׂרף *to burn, swallow, gulp down*, and perhaps שִׂיכְלִי a certain bird; but the latter is doubtful. In other cases it appears as ס.—ת represents ת and ث; *e. g.*, ת: פּתח *to open*, מות *to die*, שתי *to drink*; ث: תּוֹר *ox*, תוב *to return*, תקל *to weigh*. In the few cases in which these rules are violated, we have loan-words from other dialects.

Pronunciation.—§ 15. The original pronunciation of the various sounds did not, in all probability, differ from the cognate dialects and from Hebrew. But in a later period the pronuncia-

[1] *Cf.* Haupt, *ZDMG.*, 34, 757 *sq.*; *BA.*, I., 249 *sq.*; Dalman, *GJPA.*, 41 *sq.*

[2] This word is connected with Arab. خَرَّ. Its ת is infixed as that in √עתד or √שתן.

[3] This is the Arab. ظَهْر *back*, Assyr. çîru *high*. *Cf.* Arab. ظَهْرُ ٱلْجَبَلِ *the top of the mountain* and the use of Arab. عَلَم, Heb. גֶּבַע *hill*, the latter connected with גַּב *back*. For a similar change from Arab. ע״ה to Aram. ע״ר *cf.* Arab. قَهَرَ and Talm. קָזָא, Fraenkel, *Fremdw.*, 42.

tion of some of the sounds seems to have varied. This is evident from the variations in spelling and from the transcription we find in Arabic for Aramaic loan-words.[1]

Gutturals.—§ 16. The Arabs transcribed ה by ء, ח by خ or ح, and ע by غ. The pronunciation of ח was probably, as with all Eastern Arameans, that of the voiceless guttural spirant خ. The words transcribed are either taken from some western dialect or borrowed at a later period.

§ 17. As appears from the Talmud (Meg. 24 *b*, M. Q. 16 *b*, Ker. 8 *a*), the Babylonians did not properly distinguish the gutturals in their pronunciation. The retention of the various gutturals in script is, therefore, merely historic spelling.[2] Hence, in words whose etymology is not transparent, we frequently find phonetic spelling. Thus, in זהר *to be cautious*,[3] הֲדָדֵי *one another, together*, הַרְזֵק *to imprison*, הדר *to return*, מְהוֹלְתָא *sieve*, נהל *to sift*, הוּצָא *shrubbery*, and in other words we have ה for etymological ח.[4] In אוּשְׁלָא *pounded grain*, אִישְׁתָּא name of a canal, אִיפּוּשָׁא a kind of fish, we have א for ח. In תלע or תלה *to crack*, we have ה as well as ע for it. In צוח *to dry up*, we have ח for א. For ה we have א or ע in אָדָא, עָדָא *this*, אפך *to turn;* while for ע we have very frequently א: אָבָא (Col. MS., Meg. 12 *b*, עָבָא alongside of אָבָא) *thicket*, אוֹפֵי *twigs*, אוּרְבְּנָא *bulrushes*, a. fr. *Cf.* Noeldeke, *loc. cit.;* also Nestle, *Marginalien u. Materialien*, p. 69.[5]

The fact that post-vocalic ע is pronounced as a vowel shows even more clearly that the retention of the gutturals is in many cases merely graphic. Thus טַעֲמָא is pronounced ṭáimo. This points to an earlier טֵימָא just as in Assyrian.[6]

[1] *Cf.* Fraenkel, *op. cit., Introduction.*

[2] *Cf.* Noeldeke, *MG.*, 58.

[3] This word has nothing to do with זהר *to shine*, but is the Arab. حَرَزَ. For similar metathesis, *cf.* Barth, *ES.*, 3, 4 (חרש and מגן).

[4] *Cf.* also Harkavy's note, p. 356, of his edition of the *TG.*

[5] A similar promiscuous use of the gutturals is found in Phenician (Schroeder, *Phöniz. Spr.*, 79 *sq.*), Samaritan (Uhlemann, *Inst. lingu. Samar.*, I., 13 *sq.*), Neo-Syriac (Noeldeke, *NSG.*, 56 *sq.*), and Palest. Aramaic (Dalman, *op. cit.*, 44).

[6] In the same way Hebrew words like מַעֲלָה, מַאֲמָר, מַעֲרִיב, מַעֲמָד, מַאֲכָל, and the like are pronounced máilo, máimor, máirîv, máimod, májchol. But מַעֲרָכָה mărócho. The pronunciation of the above and similar words is retained also in the plural in spite of the change of accent. Thus, maimórîm, maichólîm, maimódôs.

Palatals.—§ 18. Initial י seems to have been sometimes pronounced א to judge from a few cases where א is actually written and from the fact that after the precative לְ the prefix י of the imperfect, even if it is followed by an *a*-vowel, is frequently dropped. Thus, אַבְשׁוּנָא *dried ears of corn*, אוּבְלָא *willow-basket*, דְּאִיתְיַלְדָן *that will be born*, Ned. 30 *b*, דְּאִינַקּוּט *that they gather*, B. Q. 113 *b;* א for י is also written in a few forms of the verb יתב *to sit*, לַשְׁבַּע *let him cause to swear*, לַהֲלִיךְ *let him pass*. On the other hand, we find at times the י marked as consonantal by doubling it.

§ 19. ג and כ like ב, ד, פ and ת had a double pronunciation as mutae and as spirants. ג is transcribed by the Arabs generally as ج, sometimes as ق; גַ is generally غ, sometimes by ج or ك; כ is ك, כַ is خ. So we find also in the Talmud כִּילֵי and קִילֵי *partridges*, כרכש and קרקש *to knock*, כִּרְכִּישְׁתָּא and קִרְקִישְׁתָּא *shepherd's bell*, קִרְקְפְתָּא = כִּרְכְּפְתָּא *head*, from כפך *to bend, nod*, properly *noddle; cf.* Hebr. קָדְקֹד; שרג and שרק *to jump*, written promiscuously. גַ is today not distinguished from ג.

Linguals.—§ 20. ד is rendered in Arabic by د, דַ by ذ; ת by ت, תַ by ث. In traditional pronunciation דַ is pronounced like ד and תַ like ס. ט is not distinguished in modern pronunciation from ת. The ר was evidently a lingual, as it could be doubled.[1]

Sibilants.—§ 21. ז is ز; ס and שׂ are س; צ is ص, and שׁ, ش, rarely س. In the Talmud שׁ is usually carefully distinguished, while the other sibilants are at times used indiscriminately. Thus, פַּתְיָא and פַּסְיָא *street-well* (V. L., B. B. 8 *a*); אִתְקוּטְלָא, אִסְקוּטְלָא *flipping;* אִיצְטְיָאתָא, אִיתְיָתָא *rows*, F. MS., B. B. 12 *a;* אוּזְיָא, אוּסְיָא a certain quarter of meat; אַצְוָא, אַסְוָא *creeper, vine;* זַאזָא, סַאסָא *ear of corn;* צַיֵּיר, סַיֵּיר *binds*, M. MS., AZ., 28 *b;* עַצִּיצָא, עַסִּיסָא *pot;* עקס for עקץ *to sting;* אַרְיְסְתָּא and אַרְיְשְׁתָּא a certain meal; עַסְרִין and עֲשְׂרִין *twenty;* רפשׁ and רפס *to tread*.

Labials.—§ 22. ב is rendered in Arabic transcription by ب; בַ by ب, sometimes by و. ו and מ are rendered by و and م:

[1] *Cf.* Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, 86, and אִירְצָר, *HG.*, 282,

פ by ف, sometimes by ب. With the exception of two or three words where ו is written for etymological ב, the Talmud retains ב. But ב and ו are written indiscriminately in foreign words. ב and פ are sometimes written indiscriminately. כּוּפְשָׁנֵי and כּוּבְשָׁנֵי a species of tamed doves, כְּבוּרֵי and כְּפוּרֵי *excrements*, צְלוֹפְחָא, צְלָבְחָא *eel*.

Dāghēš and Rāphé.—§ 23. The rules for the pronunciation of בגדכפת as tenues, or mediae, and as spirantized are about the same as in Hebrew and Syriac; but the following may be noticed:

a) Unlike the Syriac, בגדכפת has no dāghēš after a diphthong; *e. g.*, בַּיְתָא, אַיְבוּ.

b) The ת in the feminine ending ־תָא is often not spirantized when a vowelless consonant precedes, even if that consonant be preceded by a long vowel; *e. g.*, שְׁאֵלְתָא.

c) בגדכפת are not spirantized to avoid difficulty of pronunciation; *e. g.*, שׁוּתְפָא, שְׁתִיקוּתָא, אַפְחִישׁוּ, סְתָמָא, מְסְתָמָא, for שׁוּתְפָא, שְׁתִיקוּתָא, אַכְחִישׁוּ, סְתָמָא, מְסְתָמָא.

d) פ is pronounced hard in the proper names פַּפָּא *Papa* and פַּפַּי *Papi*.

Changes of Consonants.—*Gutturals.*—§ 24. א changes to י in the active participle Qal of ע״י verbs and of verbs following their analogy. Also in the Pa״ēl and Ithpa״al of verbs ע״א. Thus, קָיְמִים *stands*, צָיְתִית *listens*, מָיְתִית *dies*, צָיֵיר *binds*, כָּיְפִים *compels*, חָיְשׁ *feels pain*, עָיֵיל *enters*, שָׁיֵיל *asks*, שַׁיֵּיר *he left, omitted*, אִשְׁתַּיֵּיר *remained*. The forms צָאִית, קָאִים, etc., are only graphical variants. The א must have also been pronounced י in אֲאָרָא *interstice*, and אָאִין *Alephs*. Notice also שִׁיּוּרָא *remainder*. Verbs ל״א have passed entirely into verbs ל״י.

§ 25. ה changes to ו or י in נוֹלָא, נַיְלָא *he, she*, lit. *this one* (§ 177), קְוָא *to be blunt*, תְּוַהּ *to be astonished*. In the last two cases we may have metathesis rather than phonetic change. תוה may also stand for תמה. זֵיאֲרָא *rich landlord*, √זהר.[1]

§ 26. ח appears frequently as ה: הוּצָא *foliage of a palm*, Arab. خوص; הֵיגָא *thorn*, Syr. ܚܰܝܓܳܐ; הוּנָא a proper name = חוּנָא;

[1] *Cf.* Syriac ܙܗܪ = ܙܗܝܪ and Palestinian אריבת = אהבת, Dalman, 69.

הָדַר *to return*, Hebr. חָזַר; *cf.* §§ 16, 17. Sometimes it interchanges with a sibilant: סְלִיקוֹסְתָא, חֲלִיקוֹסְתָא.[1]

§ 27. ע regularly changes to א when there is another ע (= ض) in the same word: אַרַע = عرض *to happen;* אַפְעָא = אַפָּא = Arab. ضبع *hyena. Cf.* also § 17. In גחך *to laugh*, we have ג for ע. Whenever ע corresponds to Arab. ض it must have been originally = غ. This would explain more easily its interchange with ג and ק.[2] Verbs ל״ע have in a few instances passed into verbs ל״י.

Palatals.—§ 28. ג interchanges with ק (§ 18), with כ: גְּשָׁבָא, כְּשָׁמָא *door-step; cf.* § 51. In זוּגָא *couple*, the ג becomes ז, as in modern Arabic and Syriac. It changes perhaps to ד in שגר, שדר *to send.* But the latter is more probably = صَدَرَ. In אַבֵּי for גַּבֵּי (§ 174) we have the change of ג to א.

§ 29. כ and ק frequently interchange: כַּרְשִׁינֵי, קַרְשִׁינֵי *vetch;* כְּרוֹשְׁיְיתָא, קְרוֹשְׁיְיתָא *dealers in vegetables;* כְּרוֹפְיְיתָא, קְרוֹפְיְיתָא *balls, cakes.* The interchange with ב frequently found in the texts is probably due to graphical errors.

§ 30. Intervocalic י changes to א in the adjective ending ־אָה. Thus, בַּתְרָאָה *the last*, קַמָּאָה *the first*, לוּבָאָה *the Libyan*, for *בַּתְרִיָּא, *קַמָּיָא, *לוּבִיָּא.[3] In verbs: אִיתַסְיָאַת *she was healed*, Keth., 62 *b;* אִשְׁתַּנְיָאוּ *were changed*, Col. MS., MQ., 25 *b.* But generally intervocalic י is elided.

Dentals.—§ 31. ד usually corresponds to Arab. د and ذ; but occasionally ז appears, even when it corresponds to د. Thus, זְי, זֵי *then, now* (§ 182), זבח *to slaughter*[4]; דִּיאָנָא, זִינָא *loss;* גִּדְלָא, גִּזְלָא *dripping;* דִּיפְיָא, זִיפְיָא *twigs;* זַרְזְתָא, דַּרְדְּתָא *sorb-planta-*

[1] *Cf.* Syriac ܣܠܝܩܘܣܬܐ = ܣܠܩܘܣܬܐ, Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*, add. ad p. 112. Hebrew חֲבַצֶּלֶת may stand for שבצלת, but with regard to its Assyrian equivalent, ח may be original. *Cf.* prothetic ח in Syr. ܚܫܚܫ.

[2] For this change *cf.* Bibl. Aramaic אַרְקָא *earth;* in some dialects, *cf.* D. H. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Nöldeke, *MG.*, § 66; Munk, *TM.*, p. 44, n. 127. Ethiopic šaqōqaṿa, *to cry, lament*, is a Šaph'ēl of *qōqaṿa = ضوضى. One is tempted to compare also Judeo-German "koiken" *to howl*, although it is difficult to see the historical connection. *Cf.* also ברבק, *HG.*, ed. princ. = בצבץ *cast bubbles.* Similar is the interchange of ר and ק: Hebr. שָׁקֵד, Syr. ܫܘܪܢܐ *almond. Cf.* § 36.

[3] *Cf.* Jaeger, *BA.*, I., 489, 459.

[4] *Cf.* Nöldeke, *MG.*, 43; D. H. Müller, *Inschr. von Sendschirli*, 40 *sq.*, 65.

tion; טַרְדִּינָא, טַרְזִינָא *wardrobe;* זְבוּרָא *bee,* Hebr. דְּבוֹרָה[1]; אַדִּילָא for אוּזִילָא *young gazelle.* In דָּא דָא (§185) it corresponds to Arab. ضَعْ ضَعْ.

In the following examples we have not an interchange of ל and ד, but a rare syntactical use of ד, which can be paralleled in Assyrian: לַאו דְּמֵימְרָא *does it not mean to say,* Col. MS., Zeb. 50 *a;* וְתוֹרֵי דְּרִידְיָא וְתַמְרֵי דְּעִיסְקָא *and oxen for ploughing and dates for trade,* Sabb. 19 *b.*[2] In the first example there may also be dissimilation due to the preceding לַאו.[3]

§32. ט usually corresponds to Arab. ط and ظ, but occasionally it interchanges with צ; thus, מצי and מטי. In טלע it corresponds to ʿOmanee Arabic ضلع *to limp.*[4]

§33. ת sometimes interchanges with ד: בַּגְדַּתָּאָה *the Bagdadian;* קַרְתּוֹרֵי, קַרְדּוֹרֵי; לִיפְתָּא, לִיפְדָּא *turnip. Cf.* also §21.

Liquids.—§34. ל interchanges with נ in the precative particle of the imperfect: נֵיהֵוֵי *let him be,* for לֵיהֵוֵי; מִדְּיָין *sufficient for irrigation,* H. MS., B. B. 8 *a,* for מִדְּיוֹיל.[5] לוּמָא, Latin nummus, *coin. Cf.* also §36.—עַלָּקָא *leech* appears also as עַרָקָא.

§35. נ changes to ר in רִישְׁבָּא *fowler.* Compare also טַמַּר *to hide* with Hebr. טָמַן. A similar change would be in בַּר *son,* בְּרַת *daughter,* if they are identical with בֵּן, בַּת; but this is doubtful. Final ן changes to ם in מְנַשְׁתִּים *he makes water,* O. MS., Sabb. 134 *a.*

§36. ר appears frequently as ד. This may be simply a graphical error. But in view of the fact that the change of ר to

[1] *Cf.* also Arab. زُنْبُور alongside of دَبُّور.

[2] *Cf.* the variant in the פתשגן to Onkelos, Lev. 15:33 וְלִלְדָּאִיב for וְלִלְרָאִיב, and in later literature: כַּדְהָוֵי = כַּלְהָוֵי *HG.* 29; דְּרְבִינָא = לְרָ' *ibid.* 108; דִּינּוֹקָא = לִרַ' *ibid.* 373.

[3] The stock example for the interchange of ל and ד has always been אָזַל = אָזַד. But from the fact that the word occurs only in two forms, אָזְדָא and אָזְדוּ, for both genders, and only in the sense of the present, and used only in the set phrase אזדא לטעמיה, and only in a metaphorical sense, it is evident that such use of the word is only a piece of school-wisdom, based on a wrong interpretation of a biblical passage. A root אָזַד is a mere fiction of our lexicographers. Later Hebrew literature abounds in parallels of a similar kind. Suffice it to point to פַּעְנַח *to disclose,* קְנְצַר *end.* and מְגִנַּת לֵב *grief.* A full collection of such words would be of considerable interest.

[4] *Cf.* בִּיטָא *egg* in Jer. Šebu., III. 34 *d;* but this may also be equal to בִּיעָתָא with change of ת to ט.

[5] For the same phenomenon *cf. TG.,* ed. Harkavy, §55. *Cf.* also Syriac ܢܬܠ and Hebrew-Aram. נתן *to give.*

ד is attested in living speech,[1] such a change may in some cases be phonetic. The physiological kinship between ר and ד seems to be the same as between ע (=غ) and ض.

ר changes to ל in תְּלִתַּי *two*, תְּלֵיסַר *twelve* (§ 136).

§ 37. ז. On interchange with ד *cf.* § 31. ז stands for Arab. ض in בְּזַע *to split*[2]; זְגִיתָא *clucking hen* (connected with ضجّ *to make noise, croak*); אֲזָא *to heat* is perhaps Arab. حضأ; גזד, Arab. جاز *to pass through, cross*, is evidently connected with جَاضَ, جَضَّ, كَضْكَضَ.[3]

§ 38. ס stands for ص in סַבַּר *to wait, hope for*. On the other hand סוֹבַר *to cup* corresponds to Arab. سَبَرَ *to examine a wound*. The latter is connected with ثَبَرَ *to break open* (said of an ulcer).[4] For its interchange with other sibilants *cf.* § 21.

§ 39. צ interchanges with other sibilants (§ 21), with ט (§ 32). It stands for Arab. ض in צָרַךְ *to be in need*, בצר *to be few*, עמץ *to press together*,[5] צוֹרַח *to cry, shout* = ضَوْضَى, בַּצְבֵּץ *to cast bubbles*.

[1] Maclean, *Gram. of Vernacular Syr.*, § 121. For Ethiopic *cf.* Prätorius in *BA.*, I., p. 45.

[2] From an original بضع all the forms with ז, צ, ק and ד as second stem-consonant, which appear in the various Semitic languages, can be derived.

[3] *Cf.* also Hebrew גָּזָם (?) *locust* with جُضُم *glutton;* Mišnic זְבִירִית *receptacle* with ضَبَرَ; זְבוּרִית *bad soil* with ضِبْن; זֻבְּרֵי *books, Psalms*, with أَضْبَارَة, pl. ضِبَار. Through the intermediate form ذِبْر we get the form דְּבִיר *book*, mentioned in the Talmud as used among Persian Jews. *Cf.* Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, 248; Barth, E. S., 26, 52. The development of meaning from ضَبَرَ *to put in order*, ضَبَّرَ *collect*, to أَضْبَارَة *book* is similar to that in كِتَاب *book* from كَتَبَ *to sew together*. *Cf.* later Hebrew אֻגְרוֹן *book, composition*, and אָגַר *to compose, write a book* (vide Harkavy, *Leben u. Werke d. Saadjah Gaon*, p. קי"ח *sq.*). There seems, therefore, to be no ground for doubting the Arabic origin of كِتَاب as Fraenkel does (*op. cit.*, 249).

[4] סוֹבַר (Targ.) *to bear, carry*, is closely connected with the idea of endurance, hope. The same connection we find in סבל (Targ.) *to carry, suffer, endure*. Arab. زبل, Assyr. zabālu (Barth, *ES.*, 50). Interesting variants to סובר we find in the Targ. to Psalm 96, 8: תּוֹבְרוּ וְשׁוֹבְרוּ; *cf.* Levy, *TWb.* s. v. סבר. The form סובר corresponds to Arab. صَبَرَ, תובר and שובר, to an Arabic by-form ثَبَرَ. Similarly we find Hebrew שֶׂבֶר *grain* = Arab. ثُبْرَة, a by-form of صُبْرَة *pile, store of grain*.

[5] Barth, *ES.*, 1, 5.

§ 40. שׁ interchanges with ת in שקל, תקל, *to weigh, be worth.* With ס in משי, מסי *to wash.*

Labials.—§ 41. ב. On interchange of ב with ו and פ *cf.* § 22. In מֵישָׁן for בֵּישָׁן *Bêth Še'ân* we have מ for ב. עַרְקוּמָא = Hebr. עַרְקוֹב, Arab. عرقوب.

§ 42. מ. Assyrian מ appears sometimes as ב, sometimes as ו: עִלַּוֵי *upon*, אוּרְיָא *west*,[1] שׁוּרְבִינָא *cypress*.[2] מ changes to נ in נְהַדַּר inf. Aph'ēl of הדר *to return*, B. Q. 81 *b*, and in נְשְׁתָּרוֹפֵי *melting*, Sabb. 110 *b;* in the plural endings of pronouns, nouns and verbs. It stands for נ in בּוּטְמָא *terebinth.*

§ 43. ו. Initial ו has been retained only in the following words: וָו *Wau*, וַי *woe! alas!* וְאַלֵּי *proper* (alongside of יְאַלֵּי), וְרַדָּא *rose* and its derivatives, וַעֲדָא *meeting*, וְתִיקָא *tart*, and in a few proper names. In all other cases it has changed to י.

DOUBLING.

§ 44. Doubling takes place in traditional pronunciation in about the same way as in Syriac:

a) As characteristic of certain grammatical formations; *e. g.*, in the Intensive stems.

b) To show a double consonant; *e. g.*, גַּבֵּי, אִמָּא.

c) As compensation for an assimilated consonant; *e. g.*, שַׁתָּא *year*, אַתְּ *thou.*

d) As compensation for a shortened long vowel; *e. g.*, עִלַּוֵי for עִלְוֵי *upon*, נַמֵּי (§ 182).[3]

e) To lengthen artificially a short word; *e. g.*, פּוּמָּא *mouth*, אַבָּא *father.*

f) To preserve a short vowel; *e. g.*, לִשָּׁנָא *tongue*, Arab. لِسَان, תִּיתוּרָא *bridge*, Assyr. titûru.

g) Doubling is retained at the end of a word in אַתְּ *thou*, in the pronominal ending of the participle, אָמְרַתְּ *thou sayest*, and in רַבִּ *Rabbi*, usually pronounced רִבִּ.[4]

[1] The Assyrian equivalent is amurrû (*cf.* Jensen, *ZA.*, X., 339 *sq.*) and אוּרְיָא stands for אַוְרָא.

[2] *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 49, has לָבֶד for לָמֶד *Lāmed.* דְּוָא *to see* may also be connected with the Syriac ܚܙܐ.

[3] The transcription of proper names in the old versions and in Josephus shows us a number of similar cases; *e. g.*, Saddûk, Abessalôm, Abennêr, Annân, for צָדוֹק, אֲבִישָׁלוֹם, אֲבִינֵר, עָנָן or חָנָן. But, in cases like Abessalôm and Abennêr, the versions may have taken them to be composed of אָבָן (= בֶּן) + שָׁלוֹם or נֵר.

[4] *Cf.* Nöldeke, *SG.*, § 23, H.

Resolution of Doubling.—§ 45. To judge from the cognate dialects, resolution of doubling must have frequently taken place. In a case of resolution, the preceding short vowel was either dropped, or lengthened, or retained intact by the insertion of a liquid. In the case of vowel-lengthening we can only know that a resolution has taken place when the vowel changes its quality, as from חִרֵק to צֵרֵי, or from פַּתַח to קָמֵץ, not otherwise.

Insertion of Consonants.—*Insertion of a Liquid.*—§ 46.

a) מ: אַמְגּוֹזָא *nut.*

b) נ: חִינְּבָא *feast;* כַּנְדָּא *pot;* גַּנְדַּר *to roll;* אִסְתַּנְדְּרָא *viceroy*, Pers. ustadâr, and other words.

c) ר: In the so-called Par'ēl forms: בַּרְזֵל *to shake,* גַּרְבֵּל *to mix,* גַּרְדֵּם *to cut,* הַרְזֵק *to imprison,* שַׁרְבֵּב *to let hang down,* שַׁרְבֵּט *to stretch oneself flat,* כַּרְכֵּשׁ or קַרְקֵשׁ *to strike, tingle,* כַּרְכַּשְׁתָּא or קַרְקַשְׁתָּא *shepherd's bell,* גַּרְגַּשְׁתָּא *clod,* דַּרְדְּקָא *schoolboy,* קוּרְקְבָן *crop, craw.*[1]

Note.—In words of foreign origin שׁ seems to be similarly inserted: בַּשְׁקַר *he searched,* Mandaic the same; אוּשְׁכָּפָא *saddler,* Assyr. aškapu = Arab أَكَّاف; *cf.* Assyr. iškaru = ikkaru = אִכָּרָא *peasant,* all before a *k*-sound.

Insertion of ה.—§ 47. A ה is sometimes inserted in short words in order to make them triconsonantal. Thus אֲבָהָן *fathers, parents,* plural of אַבָּא; אַמְהָא *bond-maid;* אַמְהוּ *the status of bond-maid;* גְּלְהֵי *flashes* (גלי), נַגְהָא *mint;* שְׁלְהֵי *end;* אַטְמְהָתָא *flanks;* אִמְּהָתָא *mothers.*

Insertion of a Semivowel.—§ 48. In the plural of the noun ו or י is in a few cases inserted before the ending of ־תָא to avoid an hiatus.[2]

ASSIMILATION.

§ 49. A consonant may be assimilated to a preceding or following consonant either entirely or partially. In the latter case the partially assimilated consonant may influence the adjoining consonant so that the resulting assimilation is reciprocal.

Complete Assimilation.—§ 50. 1. The א is progressively assimilated in the reflexive stems of verbs פ״א—frequently in

[1] *Cf.* Fleischer in *Levy's Dict.*, IV., 484 *b*.

[2] *Cf.* Sachau, *Skizze des Fellichi-Dialekts von Mosul*, p. 15.

the Ithpeʿēl, more rarely in the Ithpaʿal.[1] Thus, אִתְמַר *was said*, אִתְסַר *was forbidden*, אִתְנַח *he sighed*, אִתְמְרָא *was said*, אִיתְסִי *was healed*, דְּאִיתְלִידוּ *that have been born* (Ned. 30 *b*), לְיִבַּסּוֹמֵי *to cheer oneself up with wine* (Meg. 7 *b*, Col. MS. לאיבסומי), לְקַלְקוֹלֵי (M. MS. Er. 49 *a*, eds. לְאִיקַלְקוֹלֵי), אַלְתַּר *on the spot, at once*, for אַל אֶתַּר. In the last word the ל is not doubled. מְנָאן *whence* for מִנָּאן, from מִן אָן; רָבִינָא a proper name for רַבִּינָא = רַב אֲבִינָא.

2. ה is regressively assimilated in אִינוּן *they*, הַנֵּי *these*, בְּדַרְתוֹן *their being dispersed* (eds. A. Z., 10 *b*), מְשְׁתַּלִּיתוּ *you are tired* (A. Z., 72 *b*); אַדּוֹבֵי *to cut to pieces*.

3. ח is assimilated in מְסוּתָא *bath* (orig. מַסּוּתָא, §90); בַּסָּא *shovel*, לְיִשְׁלוֹפֵינְהוּ O. MS., Sabb. 98 *b*, שׁלחם√; תַּתָּא *below;* כּוּתָּא a certain dish (=כּוּתְּחָא).

4. ע is assimilated in אִיתְבִידָא *was done*, Col. MS., Zeb. 60 *a*, שֵׁב *seven*, which stands for שַׁבּ* = šabbu = šabʿu. Similarly תֵּשׁ *nine*, V. L. Taan. 13 *b*, for tiššu = tišʿu.[2] אָפָא *hyena*, for אַפָּעָא (§27). אִיבִי (=אִיבְּעִי) Col. MS., Zeb. 6 *ab*, 14 *b*, תִּיבִי *ibid.* 20 *b;* מִיבִי *ibid.* 18 *b*. By progressive assimilation מַבָּרָא *ferry*, מַבּוּרָא *ferry-man*.

5. ל is assimilated in many forms of the verb סלק *to go up, ascend:* לִיסַּק, תִּיסַּק, for לִיסְלַק, תִּיסְלַק; in אַ־ *upon* (§170), זִיקָתָא *sharp-shooter* זנק√ or זלק.

6. נ is assimilated in אַתְּ *thou*, אַתּוּן *ye*, אִתְּתָא *woman*, אַפָּא *face*, עִזָּא *goat*, אַבּוּבָא *flute*, שַׁתָּא *year*, מִטּוּל *on account of*, מְסַקָּן V. L. Pes. 3 *b*, in verbs פ״נ, and in verbs ל״נ before ־נָא, ־נָן; also in מִ־ *from*.

7. ד is assimilated in גּוּשָּׁא *heap*, M. MS., Er. 14 *b*, קַמָּא *first*, קַמֵּי *before*, שִׁתָּא *six*, שִׁתִּין *sixty;* אַ־ *until* (§182).

8. ת is assimilated in נְקִיטּוּ *ye hold*, eds. Pes. 110 *b*; שַׁמַּתִּיהּ *I put him under the ban*, M. Q. 17 *a;* אַנְחַת *hast pleased*, Ḥull 137 *b;* אִיכָּא *there is* (אִית כָּא) לֵיכָּא (*sic*) *there is not* (=לָא אִית כָּא); in the reflexive stems not ע״י or פא״י before dentals or sibilants, and, by analogy, before all consonants: אִיזְדַּבַּן

[1] *Cf.* Haupt, *SFG.*, 10, 1; *AEV.*, 10.
[2] *Cf.* Haupt, *SFG.*, 10, 1.

was sold, אִיזְדַּהַר *took heed*, אִישְׁתְּבַשָׁא *was persuaded*, אִיתַּנּוּר *they made profit*, a. o.

9. מ is assimilated in תַּגְרָא *merchant*, Assyrian tamgaru; אַרְדִּיכְלָא *artisan*, Assyrian dimgallu, with prothetic א and inserted ר; שְׁלָהָא = מֶלְאָן = Assyr. šalamtu.

Partial Assimilation.—§ 51. *a*) א is partially assimilated to ט, צ and כ, and becomes ע in טַעְיָא Arab. (طَائِيّ), צַלְעֵי *tanners*, עִיכְלָא *a measure*.[2]

b) ג is assimilated to שׁ in כְּשׁוֹרָא *joist*, Assyr. gušûru. כ to ז and ח in זְגוּגִיתָא *glass*, Heb. זְכוּכִית; גְּהִילְנָא for כּוֹחִילְנָא a certain bird. ק to ר in גְּרִיצְתָא *twist*, קרץ.[3]

c) ת is partially assimilated to ז in the reflexive stems of verbs פ׳ז: אִיזְדַּהַר *he took heed*, אִיזְדַּקַּק *he attended*, and without transposition אִדְזוֹטַר *it seemed small*, ʿÊn Yaʿaq. Sanh. 95 *a*. To ל and ר:[4] in זוּלְטָא *hod*, זוּטְרָא *small*, (§ 56), בִּיטְרֵי name of a place. To צ: in טַצְדְּקָא *excuse*, טַצְדַּחֲרָא *white spot*, and in verbs פ׳צ: אִיצְטְרִיךְ *was necessary*, אִצְטַעַר *he grieved*. To ה: in טחר *to press*. To ד: in לְהִזְדַּלְדֵּל, Alfâsî B. B. 8 *a*.[5] To ק: in קטל *to kill*, קְטִינָא *small*, קְשׁוֹטָא *truth*.

d) ס is assimilated to a liquid in עַרְזָלָא *cradle*, טַרְזָן *proud*,[6]

Reciprocal Assimilation.—§ 52. *a*) Here belong בִּזְגָא or בִּזְגָא (§ 92), Hebrew מֶזֶג and מֶסֶךְ,[7] ס first assimilated to מ, then כ to ז. Similarly בַּזְגָא for פַּתְכָּא *bundle*. But they may also be two parallel forms. In זוּרָא *outfit*, Assyr. çubâtu, zubâtu, *dress*, צ is assimilated to ב, then ת to ז, ב becomes ו. צַבֵּת *to prepare* still occurs as variant to זַוֵּד.

[1] *Cf.* Fraenkel, 69.

[2] *Cf.* Palestinean עטה Aph. of טוה; עַטְעַמָּה *something to taste*, עַטְמָא *flank*, עַכְסְלוֹ *Kislēv*, עִכּוּל *digestion*, עַטְלִיז κατάλυσις, עַגְרוֹן *white*. In later literature עִכְּפַת *concerns*. Arab. عشقلون *Ascalon*. Assimilation of כ to ע occurs in עַקְבָּה *retention*.

[3] *Cf.* גְּנִיגַר κνηγός.

[4] *Cf.* Barth, *ES.*, 36 *sq.*

[5] *Cf.* Targ. and Syr. אזדרכל. In later Hebrew I have met with נִזְמַדְּגִי.

[6] טַרְזָן or טַרְסָן is in form and etymology identical with Arab. طَيْشَان, from طاش *to be out of mind*. For the development of meaning *cf.* רָהִיר *proud* and Arab. اِسْتَنْيَهَرَ *to be insane*.

[7] *Cf.* Barth, *ES.*, 33, 51.

b) A sonant and a surd sometimes change to a surd and a sonant. גָּפְרִית *sulphur* (Hebrew) appears as כִּבְרִית. The pronunciation was probably in both cases alike.[1]

DISSIMILATION.[2]

§ 53. In words containing two identical or similar sounds one of them is usually dissimilated when the word is in frequent use.

1. ל dissimilates to ד in פַּדְפִּילְתָּא *pepper*, Col. MS., Meg. 7 *b*; to נ in נַהֲבָא *bread*; נִיהֲלָא *to* (§ 177); to ר in גַּרְגְּלִידָא *slice*, אַרְמַלְתָּא *widow* (through an intermediate *אַלְמַלְתָּא); but the stem may be רמל; מִבְרַבְּלִיתָא *mixture of white and black*.

2. נ dissimilates to ר in תְּרֵין, תַּרְתֵּין *two* (but תִּנְיָנָא *second*).

3. ר dissimilates to ל in תּוֹרְבְּלָא *wild ox*; גַּרְגִּילָא *rocket*.

4. ד dissimilates to ת in בַּגְדָתָאָה *the Bagdadean*. To ל in לְאִידְּבַק אנא בזרעה *that I should be connected with his descendants*. M. MS., Pes. 49 *a*.

5. ט dissimilates to ת in בּוֹטְיְתָא *spark*, alongside of בּוֹטְיָא.

VANISHING OF CONSONANTS.

§ 54. *a*) Initial consonants. א is dropped in חַד, חֲדָא *one*, חֳרָא *another*, and in the imperative of אתא *to come* and אזל *to go*.[3]

נ is dropped in some forms of the imperative Qal of verbs פ״נ, following the analogy of the imperfect.

§ 55. *b*) Within the word. א is elided in contractions: לֵית *there is not*, from לָא אִית; הָלֵין *those*, from הָא אִלֵּין. It quiesces in a preceding vowel: תּוֹרַיְתָא *form*, from תּוֹאֲרַיְתָא; רֵימָא *wild bull*, רֵישָׁא *head*, especially in פ״א verbs. It is also elided in the adjective ending אָה־ (§ 82).

ה is syncopated in נִיהוּ, תִּינַח (§ 124).

ח quiesces in a preceding vowel in שׁוּדָא *favoring*, שׁוּתָא *sprout*, אַנָן *we*, הָדָדֵי *one another*, אוּרְשִׁינָא a certain bird = Assyr. aḥaršânu, or aḥuršânu, Syr. ܐܘܪܫܢܐ, Arab. وَرَشَان, *ringdove*. It is syncopated in תּוֹתֵי *beneath, below*.

[1] *Cf.* Haupt. *BA.*, I., 3; *W. B. H.* (*Hebraica*, I., 231).

[2] *Cf.* Haupt, *AEV.*, XII., 17–20; *W. B. H.* (*Hebraica*, I., 224 *sq.*).

[3] *Cf.* Hebr. חַד, נַחְנוּ; Arab. نَحْنُ, مُ; Syriac ܡܢ, ܢܚܢ, ܢܘ.

§ 56. ע quiesces in a preceding vowel in some verbs whose second stem-consonant is ע: הוּץ *to stick in*, הוּת *to exude*, סוּר *to visit*, תּוּר *to be awake* (secondary root of עוּר), עוּם *to double*, Arab. ضَعَفَ. It quiesces also in a few verbs פ״ע: מֵיבַד *to do*, Col. MS., Zeb. 60 *a*, מֵיקַם *to pronounce incorrectly*, Ned. 16 *a*, and in זוּטַר *small*, from זעטר = זעתר (§ 56), *i. e.*, זער with infixed ת. It is syncopated in אַטְבָּא *ring*, רִיפְתָּא *bread*, and quiesces in the compound numerals חֲדֵיסַר *eleven*, תְּרֵיסַר, *twelve*, etc. (§ 136). In בָּעֵן *we want*, Col. MS. Zeb. *passim*, for בְּעָעֵן.

§ 57. ג is lost in זַוָּא *pair*, *scissors*, and אַבֵּי *at*, *upon* (§ 174). The *g* in this case first became g^u, then the separate elements *g* or *u* were lost.[1] Perhaps belong here שַׁגָּשׁ and שַׁבֵּשׁ?

§ 58. ל quiesces in קוֹמַר *καλαμάριον*, M. MS., Sabb. 80 *a*.

ר quiesces in the preceding vowel in קוּקֵנֵי *worms*, קרק/ו, in the compound בִּיזְרָא for בִּיר זַרְעָא (or origin. בְּזָרָא from בַּר זַרְעָא), and in אֲמִינָא *I say*.

מ is dropped in a few participles of Pa״ēl: שַׁבְּשֵׁי *trim the vine*, B. M. 73 *a*; יַבְּמִינָן Yeb. 41 *b*; סַלְּקִי M. MS., B. Q. 48 *a*; קַדְּמִינָן Pes. 53 *b*, and others.

נ is syncopated in מְנַשְׁתֵּיהּ *makes water* (*sibi*).

§ 59. ד is dropped in אוּנָא *ear*. (If Fleischer's opinion given in Levy's *Neuh. Wb.*, III., 312 *b*, that ד interchanges with ו is true, then אוּנָא may come from אוּדְנָא = אוּזְנָא).[2] In זַרְתָּא *sorb-bush*, for זַרְדְּתָא.[3]

§ 60. *c*) Final consonants. א, ו and י quiesce in the preceding vowel in stems ל״א, ל״ו and ל״י. The two former then pass into ל״י. The י appears in a few forms, especially before suffixes. ח and ע are generally retained, but are treated in a few verbs and nouns like א. Thus, גנא = גנח *to rumble*, ע in נַנְעָא *mint*, אִירְיָא *argument*, בזי *to break*, טבי *to sink*, פדי *to wound*, פסי *to spoil*, שפי *to slant*, שקי *to sink*, אשתמודי *to have identified*.

[1] This phenomenon is frequent in Indo-European languages. *Cf.* also Fraenkel, *op. cit.* XXII., 107.

[2] For a change of ד to ב, *cf.* Praetorius, *BA.*, I., 44, and Maclean, § 106.

[3] Perhaps also in the Palestinean proper name יַלְתָּא for ילדתא *child*, as in Syriac. But it may also be a shortening of אַיַלְתָּא or contraction of יְעַלְתָּא. *Cf.* also §§ 116. 119.

§ 61. ר quiesces in some forms of the imperfect and imperative Qal: אֵימָא, תֵּימָא, לֵימָא, נֵימָא; אֵימָא, אמר/ו *to say.*[1] In שַׁדָּא *he sent*, M. MS., Ber. 42*a*, סָגָא *he locked*, H. MS., B. M., 86*a*; in זוֹטָא *small*, אַשֵּׁי *Asher;* perhaps also in אִיתֵּי *is superfluous*, but this may be אִיתֵּי (M. MS., Sabb. 64*a*).

§ 62. ל is dropped in some forms of אזל *to go:* אָזָא *he went*, M. MS., B. M. 101*b*, 103*b*, Col. MS., Pes. 111*b;* אָזֵי *he goes*, Col. MS., Pes. 110*b;* נִיזֵי *let him go*, K. MS., Mem. 2*a;* זֵי *go*, Col. MS., Pes. 104*b*.[2] In שְׁקָא *he took*, Qidd., 81*b*, M. MS., A. Z. 3*a;* עָקֵי *takes*, MSS. Sukk. 52*b*. In קַלֵּי for קַלִּיל *light.*

§ 63. נ is dropped in the dual and plural of verb and noun, תְּרֵי, תְּנֵי, תַּרְתֵּי, *two*, מְאתֵי *two hundred*, אָמְרֵי *they say*, בֵּי *between*, כֵּי for כֵּן, דֵּי, דְּ for דֵּן; מָנָא for מָנָאן (§ 90). The feminine plural ending ־ָן loses its נ only in one case: לִיתְּצַדָּה *they may be caught*, M. MS., Sabb. 43*b*.

§ 64. ד is dropped in דִּיאַבָּא for דִּיעַבַּד (§ 159).[3]

ת is dropped in בֵּי *house*, שַׁבָּא *Sabbath, week;*[4] in the absolute state of feminine nouns: אוּחֳרֵי or אָחֳרֵי *another*, אִנְתּוּ *matrimony;* is not retained even before suffixes in לְאַחֳרוּהַּ *to do it late*, Sabb. 119*a*, לְאַסְיוּהַּ *to heal him*, לְנַסְיוּנְהוּ *to try them*, Rašî Sanh. 101*b;* and is usually apocopated in the sing. fem. of verbs in the participles and the perfect.

§ 65. ב is apocopated in תּוּ *again*, נְשָׁא *blew*, MSS., B. M. 85*b*, 86*a*, Rašî Taan. 24*a;* נָסֵי *marries*, Col. MS., M. Q. 3*b*, נְסֵי Col. MS., Zeb. 5*a*.

§ 66. מ is dropped in many forms of קוּם *to stand:* אֵיקוּ, תֵּיקוּ, לֵיקוּ, נֵיקוּ; קוּ *stand thou*, Col. MS., M. Q. 25*b*, M. MS., Sanh. 95*a;* קָאֵי, קָא, *stands;* קָיְימָנָא *I stand*, Col. MS., Zeb. 19*a*, בּוֹקְיָנָא *I explain, ibid.* Pes. 90*a;* אוֹקְימִיתֵּיהּ *I explained it, ibid.* M. Q. 25*a*. Here the suffixed forms are derived from the apocopated forms.

Transposition of Consonants.—§ 67. בַּתְוָא, בַּוְתָא *desolation;* מְדָרָא, מְרָדָא *water-course;* טַפְסָא, סַפְטָא *chest;* קִילּוּפָא, קִיפּוּלָא; בּוּכְיָא, כּוּבְיָא, *shuttle;* and others.

[1] *Cf.* אָמָא *says*, 'Anān, quoted by Harkavy in *MWJ.*, 1893, p. 225.

[2] The verb אזא *to heat* is perhaps an Aph'ēl of אזל. For the development of meaning *cf.* Hebrew הַעֲלָה, הַסֵּק, and Syriac שגר. *Cf.* also § 37.

[3] *Cf.* בְּדִיאַבָּא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 181.

[4] *Cf.* C. Levias, *AJP.*, XVI., 34.

B. VOWELS.

IMÂLÈ.—*Pathaḥ.*—§68. Original *ă* in closed and intermediate syllables frequently changes to *i* (or *ĕ*). Thus, פִּיסְחָא *Passover*, בִּשְׂרָא *meat*, שִׂטְנָא *Satan*, רִיגְלָא *foot*, קִימְחָא *flour*, זִימְנָא *time*, גִּינְתָא *garden*;[1] in the preformatives of the imperfect Qal; in the first syllable of the perfect Pa'ēl when the second stem-consonant is ר or a guttural: *e. g.* קִירֵב *brought near*, מִיעֵט *lessened*, B. Q. 51 *b*; צִיעֵר *vexed* Qidd. 70 *b*, Ned. 62 *a*; פִּירֵשׁ *separated himself*, Sôt. 4 *b*; נִיהֵם *roared*, Ḥull., 59 *b*; in the second stem-syllable of the imperfect in Pa'ēl לִיתִּיתִיהּ *let him lower it*, Sabb. 67 *a*; לִצִּינְנָהּ *let him cool her off*, B. B. 74 *b*; in the enclitic pronoun זְבִנִית *hast bought*, B. M. 51 *a*, קְטִלִית *hast killed*, *ibid.* 59 *b*; מְזַבְּנִית *sellest*, *ibid.* 72 *a*, סְתִירִית *breakest down*, B. B. 4 *a*; in the perfect אַרְבִּעִית *placest*, B. Q. 114 *a*; in the first syllable of the Aph'ēl חֲוָה מִיגְמַר *taught*, A. Z. 3 *b*, דְּמִיכְלֵי *that he shout*, B. B. 5 *a*; לְאִישְׁתּוֹנֵי *to make water*, B. B. 19 *b*; לְאִיפְּסוֹלֵי *to make unfit*, Pes. 15 *b* (fragm. ed. by Lowe).

Long Qāmēç.—§69. Original long קָמֵץ at times changes to *ê* (or *î*). Usually so when *â* has arisen in consequence of the quiescing of an א: תֵּיכַל, תֵּימַר, תֵּיזִיל, בֵּיכַל, בֵּימַר, בֵּינַס, from original *תָּאכַל, *תָּאמַר, *תָּאזִיל, *בָּאכַל, *בָּאמַר, *בָּאנַס (primarily תָּא, בָּא); רֵישָׁא *head* for *רָאשָׁא; בֵּישְׁקְלֵי inf. of שְׁקַל *to weigh, be worth*, Ar. 18 *b*; מִיגְמַר *to study*, Ḥôr. 12 *a*; מֵיהְדְרֵי inf. from הדר *to return*, Ar. 23 *a*; חֵדְתֵי, חִדְתֵי *new*, B. M. 73 *a*; חִיוַרְתֵי *white*, אוּכְמֵתֵי *black*, רַבְתֵי *great*, זוּטַרְתֵי *small*, and other words like them.[2] זוּטֵי *small*, מִינֵיכֵי *your vessels, garments*, M. MS., Pes. 111 *b*; רֵיחֲטָן *are frisky*, Sabb. 32 *a*; שִׁיבְקֵיהוּ *their deceased parents or relatives*, B. M. 70 *a*; אֵינִישׁ *man*. So also in the infinitives קְטוֹלֵי, קַטּוֹלֵי, אַקְטוֹלֵי, אִתְקְטוֹלֵי (§223); and perhaps in the plural ending of the verb יֵ— for יֵן—.[3] A kind of imâlè is diphthongization (§80).

[1] Some of these forms may be regular by-forms.

[2] Barth takes the ending תֵי to be identical with the pronominal element we find in the Ethiopic pronoun ie'etî (*ZDMG.* 46, 688, n. 1). In Mandaic this appears as tê (Noeldeke, *MG.* 154); in Palmyrean it has the form תה (Halévy, *Maḥbereth*, p. ס״ה); in Arabic تَى, تِهِى, تِهِ. But how would this theory explain the masculine form חִדְתֵי? It is noteworthy that this ending תֵי appears only in adjectives.

[3] So in Modern Arabic the nominal ending ـَـى is pronounced ê, such forms as رَمَى are pronounced *ramê*, *cf.* also the transcription of Aramaic ê, î, by Arabic â (Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, XVII.). For a similar change in Amharic, *cf.* Praetorius, *Amhar. Sprache*, p. 23.

Obscuration of Â.—§ 70. The obscuration of *â* to *ô*, so characteristic of Hebrew, is rare in the Talmud. תְּנוֹיָא *study*, פָּרַשְׁיוֹתֵיכוּ *your weekly lessons*, Ber. 8 *b*; רִבְבוֹתָא *myriads*, K. MS., Sanh. 26 *a* (*bis*); מוֹר *my lord*, P. MS., Ber. 58 *b*.[1] The nominal ending *ân* is at times obscured to *ô* or *û* under the influence of the *n.* אַבְשׁוֹנָא *dried ears of corn;* אִדְרוֹנָא *bed-room*, נְסִיוֹנָא *trial.*

Vocalic Epenthesis.—§ 71. The final vowel *î* of the first com. and the 2. fem. sing. and the final *û* of the 3. masc. plur. of the perfect influence their preceding vowel and are themselves apocopated. Thus, q at(a)l(a)tî becomes q at(a)l ait, and contracted q(a)t(a)lêt, or q(a)t(a)lît, קַטְלֵית or קְטַלִית. Similarly, the perfect q(a)t(a)lû קְטַלוּ becomes q(a)ta^{u}l contracted to q(a)tôl קְטוֹל (§§ 232, 243).[2] The pronominal suffixes akhi *thine* (f.), akha *thine* (m.) and ahi *his*, become a^{i}kh, a^{a}kh, a^{i}h and contracted, ־ךְ, ־ךָ, ־הּ. The last form ahi for ahu or ihu, is due to analogical influence. An equivalent form ihu became by transposition uhi (*cf.* אֲבוּהִי *his father*) and in analogy of the latter such a form of ahi was formed.

Influence of Consonants on Vowels.—§ 72. The quiescence of one of the consonants א, ו, י, ה, ח, ע, or ר, lengthens the preceding vowel. Thus אֵימָא *I say* (for אֲאֵמַר*); רֵישָׁא *her head* (for רֵאשַׁהּ*) סָגֵי *he went* (for סְגֵי* = sagiį); מֵיבַד *to do* (for מְעֵבַד); גָּנָא for גְּנַח *it rumbled;* קוֹקָנֵי for קוּרְקָנֵי *worms.* The same is the case when any other final consonant disappears; as שְׁקָא, נְשָׁא, דְּיֵאבָא, for שְׁקַל, נְשַׁב, דְּיֵעֲבַד (§ 159); אִי for אִן *if.*

§ 73. The neighborhood of an ע sometimes produces imâlè: אַרְבֵּעַ *four*, חֲדֵיסְרֵי *eleven* (= חֲדַאעַסְרֵי), אַרְבֵּיסַר (אַרְבְּעָא עַ׳), שְׁתֵּיסַר (שִׁתָּא עַ׳). On the other hand, ר and the gutturals ה, ח, ע change a preceding short vowel *ĕ*, *i*, or *u*, to *a:* בַּר *son* (בְּר), תַּרְתֵּין *two*, (תְּרֵתֵין*), לַיְמַר *he says*, (לֵימַר*), יַדַּע *knows*, נַגַּהּ *is late*, אַמַר *says*, זַבַּח *slaughters*, with *a* for *i*. But אֲמֵינָא *I say* (for אֲמַרְנָא) and שְׁבֵיעֲנָא *I was satisfied*, Col. MS., Meg. 7 *b*.

[1] *Cf.* מוֹר, *HG.*, 407, 417. Still the ר in some cases may simply denote קָמָץ, not חוֹלָם. *Cf.* נְגָזוֹל, *TG.* ed. Cassel. 41; נְטָמוֹא, *ibid.* 41, and G. Hoffmann, *ZDMG.* 32, 737.

[2] Jastrow, s. v. כבד, reads Nidd. 56 *a* כַּבִּיד *I swept*, which, in his opinion, stands for כַּבַּדִי. But this is a mistake. As is evident from the next page, we have here כַּבִּיד, 3. person for 1., a frequent occurrence in the Talmud.

§ 74. The neighborhood of a labial or of a liquid obscures at times *ă* (or *i*) to *ŭ* (or *ō*). This phenomenon is more frequent in the cognate dialects.[1] גֻּבְרָא *man* (already in Bibl. Aram.), הֻבְשָׁא *honey*, גֻּפְנָא *vine*, אֻמְּא *leaven*, תֻּמְרְתָּא *date-palm*, מֻתְמְחָא *a weaving*, Sabb. 58 *a*, טֻלָּא *shade*, אֻלָּא *wine-pressing*, עֻרְפִּילָא *rain-shower*, פֻּרְצִידָא *grain of seed*, אֻרְדִּילָא *the young of a gazelle*;[2] מֻקְשָׁה inf. Qal of קשי *to be difficult*, Yeb. 40 *a*; פֻּתַּח Pers. kataḥ, a certain dish.[3]

Note.—In פּוּם *mouth*, we have an original nominative פּוּ +mimation. In the first syllable of אוּרְדִּילָא we have an attempt to render the Arabic ġ.

Fluctuating Vocalization.—§ 75. Some words fluctuate in their vocalization, and it is impossible to tell which is the original form. Thus אִיזְלָא *web* appears also as אוּזְלָא, אֻזְלָא, אוּזְלְתָּא, אֻזְלְתָּא or אוּזְלָתָא, and אוּזִילְתָּא; צוּצְלָא a kind of doves, הוּדְבָא *fly*, appear also as צִיצְלָא, דִּידְבָא, and similarly many other words.[4]

Shortening of Long Vowels in Closed Syllables.—§ 76. In the traditional pronunciation long vowels in closed syllables are shortened. This is most marked in the case of קמץ as it differs from פתח also qualitatively in Ashkenasic pronunciation. Thus, בָּתְרָא, אָמְרִין are pronounced בַּתְרָא, אַמְרִין.

Compensatory Lengthening.—§ 77. Compensatory lengthening takes place in מִמֵּילָא (§§ 77, 90), אַיְבוּ a proper name, for אַבּוּ (=Arab. أَبُو), בִּירְדָא *liar*, (=בְּהָאָה; *cf.* § 77), עִיפֵּיהּ *its branches*, M. MS., Pes. 111 *b*, for עַנְפֵּיהּ = עַנְפֵּיהּ of eds.; הַיְרוּ, for הַנְהוּ = הַנְּהוּ (§ 119); דְּדַיְילוּנֵיהּ *that they may lift him up*, 2 M. MS., M. Q. 28 *b*, for דְּדַלְּוּנֵיהּ;[5] כּוֹכְבָא *star* (through an intermediate kakkabu); חֲצוֹצַרְתָּא *trumpet;* שִׁישׁוּרָא *chain;* כֵּיכְלֵי *partridges;* צוּצְלָא or צִיצְלָא a kind of doves; קִיקְלְתָּא *dung-hill;* שִׁישְׁלְתָּא *chain;* שׁוּשְׁבָא *sesame;* הוּדְבָא or דִּידְבָא *fly;* לוּלְבָא *palm-branch;* שׁוּשְׁבִינָא *bridesman;* צְלוּלִיבָא (=צלבליבא Çaph'ēl of לוליבא).

Heightening and Depression of Vowels.—§ 78. Short *u* is heightened to *ō* in a final syllable: אֶקְטֹל, תִּקְטֹל. Long *o* is

[1] It must be remembered that some of the forms with *u* may be by-forms.
[2] *Cf.* Noeldeke, *MG.*, 17 *sq.*, *ZDMG.*, XXII., 455; Dalman, *op. cit.*, 65.
[3] *Cf.* Fraenkel, *Fremdw.*, XVII.; G. Hoffmann, *LCB.*, 1881, Col. 416, 1882, Col. 320.
[4] *Cf.* Noeldeke, *MG.*, § 15.
[5] G. Hoffmann, *ZDMG.* 32, 754, cites Bar Hebraeus to Ezr. 16:24, gaibhē for gabbē

sometimes pronounced *û* as in Western Syriac. This is regularly the case in infinitive forms קְטוּלֵי, קַטּוּלֵי, etc.; in the pronouns and pronominal suffixes אַתּוּן, אִנּוּן, אִנְהוּ, ־הוּ, ־כוּ; in the perfect with transposed final vowel קְטוֹל (§ 71); in the names of the letters יוּד, קוּף; frequently in the plural endings of the verbs ל״ה: תַּנּוּ, אַתְנוּ, etc.

Final *ē*, *ê*, if not plural ending, is frequently pronounced *î*: אִינְהִי *they*, חַדְתִּי, חַדְתִּי, *new*, etc., and in a few other cases; *e. g.*, דְּבִיתְהוּ *his wife*, lit. *the one of his house*.

Diphthongs.—§ 79. In diphthongs whose second element is י the latter has retained its vocalic force in traditional pronunciation; while in diphthongs whose second element is ו the latter is pronounced as בַ or פַ. Thus, בְּיִתָא *house*, בָּתְרַיְתָא *last*, are pronounced baiṯho, bathraiṯho, but טַוְיָא *roast*, דַּוְשָׁא *treading*, דַּוְקָא *exactitude*, tavyo, dafšo, dafko.

Diphthongization.—§ 80. The vowels *ī*, *ē*, *ā*, change sometimes to *aị*. The vowels *ō* and *ū* to *aụ*. That an original diphthong thus reappears is only incidental.

a) *ī* and *ē*: אִיתְנַיְיס אִיתְנַיִיס *I became sick*, M. MS., Sabb. 145 *b*; אַיְפַיְיס *was satisfied*, B. Q. 113 *b*; אַיְזַן *she committed adultery*, Sanh. 106 *a*; צַיְיל *clear*, Sabb. 23 *a* ʿArûch; דַּיְיק *pounded*, Bêçā 14 *b*; לַיְיק *connected*, Ḥull. 11 *a*; צַיְיר *bound up*, פַּיְיל *measured*, *ibid.* 105 *b*; צַיְירִי *are bound up*, B. M. 24 *b*, 108 *b*; דַּיְיסָא *grit*; מִדְוַיִן, מִדְוַיִל (= מִדְוַיִן § 34) H. MS., B. B. 8 *a*.—אַעַיְילָא *she brought up*, Sabb. 116 *b*; אִתְּוַסַאי *they were soiled*, *ibid.* 124 *b*; שַׁדַיְינָא *I sow*, Keth. 103 *b*; חַפַיְינָא *I cover*, MSS. B. M. 49 *b*; קָצַיְינָא *I shall cut down*, M. MS., *ibid* 107 *b*; לְטַיְיתֵיהּ *I cursed him*, B. B. 21 *b*; בְּנַיְית *thou buildest*, B. B. 4 *a*; מְלַטַיְית *thou cursest*, Sabb. 151 *b*; אַמְטַיְית *thou hast brought*, Ber. 9 *b*; עֲלַוְוי *upon*, Yalq. MS., Yômā 83 *b*; עֲלַוְוֵיהּ or עֲלַוְוִיהּ *upon him*, Col. MS., Meg. 7 *a* and elsewhere; the possessive suffixes ־יְכוּ and ־יְהוּ.[1]

b) *â*: דַּיְיצַיפָּא a kind of dove; כַּיְיפַיְינָן (= כַּפְנָן) *we are hungry*, B. M. 83 *a*; אַדְמַיְיתְנֵיהּ *as long as they are wet* (*sibi*) (= אַדְמָתְנֵיהּ), Pes. 111 *b*.

[1] *Cf.* וַדַּיִן, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, p. 5; דַּיְנוּ, *ibid.*, 33, n. 10.

c) *û, ô:* אַבְרְווֹרֵי *pinnacles;* דְּווֹשְׁא *passage, habit;* דַּוּלְלָא *skein;* שְׁווֹכָא *thorn;* צְוורוֹנִיתָא (=צְוִדְנִיתָא) *food;* דְּוֹקָא *exactness.*

Transposition of Diphthongal Elements.—§ 81. The elements of a diphthongized vowel are sometimes transposed, the *a*-vowel being placed after the *i* or *u*-vowel. In such a case the last are usually consonantized and the first lengthened: בְּאֲרֵי, בְּיִירֵי, בִּיאֲרֵי *orchards;* דְּהֲרָא, דְּיהֲרָא, דִּיאֲהֲרָא *rich landlord;* טוּרְזִינָא, טוּרְזִינָא *armory;* פִּיתוּנְיָתָא, plural פִּיתוּנְיָיתָא, *fine linen shirt;* מְתָארָא, מְתָוארָא, *poker;* טַיְיזָן, טַיְיזָאן, *proud fool;* מְיָאשָׁא, מְיֵאשָׁא, proper name; נְסִיבָא (n^{e}sîbâ, nisiâbâ), נְיָקָא, נְיָאקָא, *νικη*; נָשְׁוּרָא (nāšôrâ), קוּקָאנֵי, קוּקַאנֵי, שׁוּרְיָקָא (šarîqâ), שְׁחוֹר (šāḥôr).[1] Akin to this is the consonantization of the *u*-vowel in שְׁוּולָיָא, שְׁוּואלָאנִי (Syr ܫܘܠܝܢܝ) *lewd woman* (=תּוֹבַעַת).

Contraction of Vowels.—§ 82. *â'â* is contracted sometimes to *â*. This is especially the case with the adjective ending. קַמָּא *first,* בָּתְרָא *last,* הַדְיָבָא *the Adiabenean,* לוּבָא *the Libyan,* שִׁירָא *silk,* נְהַרְדְּעָא *the Nehardean* (Keth. 54 *a*, a. e.), אַרְמָא *the heathen* (Col. MS., M. Q. 12 *b*), קַפָּרָא if it mean *the Cypriote,* לְעֵילָא *above,* לְתַתָּא *below, beneath;*[2] בְּנַן (=בְּעַנַן) Col. MS., Zeb., *passim.*

Note.—Luzzatto's objection to the explanation of אַבָּא אַרִיכָא as *Rabh of Arēkhâ*[3] falls to the ground, since אַרִיכָא might well stand for אֲרִיכָאָה. Jastrow in his dictionary vocalizes אֲרִיכָא and explains it by *one who arranges arguments, a lecturer.* In such a case, however, we should rather expect the word to be אַרְכָא, not אַרִיכָא. For although such forms may be found in the Targumim—*cf. e. g.* Levy's *Dict. on the Targ.*, s. v. נְדַר—they may, in every case, be explained as scribal errors, or as learned affectations. And even if the word could be grammatically defended, its extremely rare occurrence (I know of no case in the Talmud) speaks against its being in general use, and it could not have stood the wear and tear of an ignorant populace

[1] *Cf.* Mišnic (פְּסָא), פַּיְיס, פַּאְרִיס, פְּיָאס, and קַסְרוֹנָא. *Cf.* also Assyrian zi-'arânu, ḫi'alânu, for zîrânu, ḫîlânu.

[2] With the two last words, some such word as צְדָא *side* is to be understood.

[3] *Op. cit.*, § 64 *c*.

through centuries. It will, moreover, be observed that the Talmud explains that לַקַּב by אֲרוּךְ, which is generally taken to mean *tall*, but which Dr. Jastrow explains as *well-arranged, well-balanced, thinker*. Whatever that may mean, and whatever we may think of the Talmudists' etymologizing, one thing is certain, that they read אריכא as a passive participle. Nobody would ever think of denying them the knowledge of a correct pronunciation of their living mother tongue; hence, any explanation offered must be based on the form אֲרִיכָא. For other explanations of the name *cf.* Muehlfelder, *Rabh*, p. 1, note; Goldammer's note to his English translation of Luzzatto's grammar, §64; Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, s. v. אֲרוּךְ; Weiss, *Zur Geschichte der jüd. Trad.*, III., 147, note 3; *Heḥālûç*, ix, 18 *sq.*

§83. Diphthongs are usually contracted in verbal forms: *aṷ* contracts to *ô; aị*, to *ê, î* (or *â*). אוֹתִיב *he placed*, אַתְּנוֹ *they taught*, חֲזֵי *sees*, תְּלֵי *hangs*, תְּשְׁדֵי *throwest*, בְּעֵיתוּן *you asked*, דְּכֵן *clean*, בְּעֵינָן *we want*, Col. MSS. *passim*, בְּצֵילְנָא *I pray*, M. MS., Ber. 28 *a*, and others. In nouns: אוּרְדִּילָא *young gazelle*, Syriac ܥܘܪܕܝܠܐ; דְּבֵיתְהוּ *his wife*. In qatl and qatal forms it is sometimes contracted, but quite as frequently uncontracted. The later state is probably due to subsequent diphthongization (§80). Thus זֵיתָא *olive*, מוֹתָא *death*, חוֹחָא *thorn;* but בֵּיבָא *veil*, בֵּיתָא (and בֵּיחָא) *house*, דֵּירָא *inn*, זֵינָא *arms*, דַּוּלָא *bucket*. In the plural ending *aị*(*â*): אֵינָשֵׁי *men*, אַבְנֵי *stones*, מִלֵּי *words*.

Retention of Disappearing and Insertion of New Vowels. —§84. *Pretonic Qameç.*—In some cases original *ă* in an open syllable before the tone is lengthened to *ā*, as in Hebrew. Thus כָּשׁוֹרָא, Assyr. gašûru, *joist* (the variant פְּשׁוֹרָא corresponds to Assyr. gušûru); מָחוֹזָא *Māḥôzâ;* חָזֵי or חָאזֵי *proper, fit*, for חֲזֵי; סָנֵי *hateful* (Col. MS., Meg., vocalizes סַנֵי), for סְנֵי; צָרִיךְ *necessary*, for צְרִיךְ; מָמוֹנָא *money;* מָגוּשָׁא *Magian*.[1]

§85. Other short vowels in open syllables are sometimes retained and probably lengthened. This is especially the case

[1] *Cf.* Targumic מָזוֹן, מָחוּךְ, מָמוֹן (?), קָטוֹרְתָא, כָּרְתֵי. Most of these nouns are evidently loan-words in which an effort is made to retain the original *a* sound. *Cf.* also Syriac ܡܣܟܢܢ, ܡܙܡܢ, ܫܠܛܢ, all loan-words. (A verb ܫܠܛ in the sense of the Hebrew חנה *to encamp* does not exist in any of the Aramaic languages.)

with verbs which retain at times the full vocalization of the 3d masc. sing. in the lengthened forms. לַעֲרוֹקוּ *let them run away*, B. B. 8 *a*; נִגְרוֹסוּ *let them study*, P. MS., Ber. 13 *b*; לַעֲבִידוּ *let them do*, B. B. 156 *a*; בִּשְׁיִלָה *she cooked*, Ned. 66 *b*; לִיפְרוֹקִינָן *let him redeem us*, Sanh. 105 *b*, and others.[1] עוֹבָדָא *deed*; שִׁיטָרָא *document*; צִילְחָתָא *megrim*; כּוֹבְסָא *cluster of dates*. (But *cf.* § 92.)

§ 86. New vowels are sometimes found which differ from the original in whose places they stand. Thus, the preformatives of the imperfect Pa"ēl take *ē* or *i*: אֵיקַטֵּיל, תִּיבָּרֵיךְ; the preformatives of the imperfect Qal in ע"ו and ע"י stems: *e. g.*, תֵּיקוּם, תֵּינָח, תֵּיחוּשׁ; a nominal form like תּוֹמַרְתָּא; entirely new is the vowel in אֵבִיזָרָא (orig. abzâr), אֵינְבָא *berry*.

§ 87. A number of words, especially verb-forms, take a prothetic vowel to facilitate their pronunciation. אִשְׁתִּי *he drank*, Sabb. 141 *a*; אִגְמַע *he swallowed*, Sukk. 49 *b*; אִשְׁתִּיק *he kept silent*, Pes. 17 *a*; אִמְצִי *he was able*, Ned. 89 *b*; אִימְהָא *he objected*, B. M. 110 *a*; אִיטְשָׁא *he hid himself*, A. Z. 70 *a*; אִשְׁתִּיָא *she drank*, Yeb. 65 *b*; אִשְׁתִּיקָה *she kept quiet*, Qidd. 13 *a*; אִשְׁתִּיקוּ *they kept quiet*, Nāz. 32 *a*, Sôtā 35 *a*;[2] אִשְׁתּוֹ *drink ye*, Sabb. 41 *a*; אִנְטְרוּ *wait ye*, Ber. 53 *b*; אִיסַּר *was spoiled* (§ 89), M. MS., Taan. 7 *a*; אִיזַּן *she committed adultery*, K. MS., Sanh. 106 *a*, eds. אִיזְּנַן (§§ 80, 89); אִדְמָא *blood*.

§ 88. In some cases a vowel is prothetically added to words whose first consonant has a full vowel. In such a case the vowel of the original first syllable is frequently dropped. אֶנְרוּ *they will dwell*, M. MS., Taan. 25 *a*: אִרְמַנְהוּ *they appointed him*, Sanh. 26 *a*; אַכְרְנָא *poll-tax*; and others. *Cf.* § 91.

Loss of Vowels.—§ 89. Original short vowels have been dropped in all probability to about the same extent as in the cognate dialects. Final long vowels have been dropped in the personal pronouns and possessive suffixes. אֲנַחְנָא became *אַנַחְ and then אַנָ (v. § 94), אַנְתָּ, אַתְּ, אַנְתִּי, אַתִּי, became אַנְתְּ, אַתְּ. The loss of final *û* in אַנְתּוּ, אַתּוּ (v. § 94) is exceptional. In

[1] In Hebrew similar forms are found only in pause. *Cf.* also § 230, note.

[2] אימרדה B. M. 84 *b* does not belong here; it is Ithpe'ēl. *Cf.* מִימַּרְדָא Keth. 57 *b*. The prothetic vowel in the perfect may have been influenced by the imperfect י and only differentiated orthographically. *Cf.* also Hommel, *BA.*, II., 357.

the enclitic pronouns ־ין is sometimes found for ־ינא; in the perfect, the pronominal endings of the 1st and 2d person sing. have lost their final vowel. The final *û* in the 3d masc. plur. of the perfect has been frequently dropped with coincident coloring of the preceding vowel (v. § 71). In the other parts of the verb the loss of final *û* is very rare. The *î* of the 1st sing is generally dropped in the objective suffix, rarely so in the possessive (v. § 109). The final vowels of the 2d and 3d sing. and the 1st plur. are generally dropped in both possessive and objective suffixes.[1] Also in אִישַׁר *became bad*, אִיזַן *committed adultery*, אֵימַת *when*, אִית *there is*, the final vowel is dropped.

Syncope of Vowels in Consequence of Resolution.—§ 90. Resolution of doubling with syncope of vowel is found in הַשְׁתָּא *now* (הָשַׁתָּא), מְנָא *whence* (מִן אָן);[2] מִמֵּילָא *of itself* (מִן מִלָּא); אַכְּיטוּל *on account of* (עַל כְּיטוּל); אַלָּאוֵי *upon* (עִלָּוֵי).[3]

Syncope of Vowel in Consequence of Prothetic Lengthening of Word.—§ 91. The addition of a prothetic vowel frequently produces syncope (§ 88): אִטְרָפָא *leaf;* אַשְׁלָגָא a kind of alkali; אַפְתָּא (פִּתָּא) *bread;* אַצְפָּא (צִיפְּתָא) *matting;* אַרְקָתָא (רוּקְתָא) *wrought metal. Cf.* אִיסַר and אִיזַן (§ 89). The same thing happens when a word is lengthened by the addition of a preposition; *e. g.*, אַבְּרָא *outside*, אַגְּוָא *inside.*

Syncope of Vowel in Consequence of Segholatization.—§ 92. שִׁטְרָא, שִׁטְרָא, *written document;* אֵינְשֵׁי אִינְשֵׁי *men;* צִלְחָתָא, צֵילְחָתָא *megrim;* תְּמָנֵי, תַּמְנֵי *eight;* תְּלָתִין, תְּלְתִין *thirty;* עוֹבְדָא, עֹבְדָא *deed, fact;* כְּבָסָא, כֹּבְסָא *cluster of dates;* and many others.

ACCENT.—§ 93. The traditional pronunciation accents always the penult of a word. Prefixed prepositions and conjunctions do not receive the accent.

[1] Whether the *î* of the 1st sing. of the possessive suffixes and the *û* in the plur. of verbs were pronounced or merely retained orthographically in Talmudic times we are unable to decide.

[2] *Cf.* Tunisian Arab. mnîn.

[3] *Cf.* Hebrew שֶׁ for שֶׁ־; מִ for מִ־ (מִיַּחַל Ps. 69:9); מֵעַמִּיהָ *from his people* Targ. Onk., Lev. 21:14 and 23:29. *Cf.* also רְעָבוֹן, חֲבַקּוּק, יְבָמוֹת, for רַעֲבוֹן, חַבַּקּוּק, יַבָּמוֹת.

III. MORPHOLOGY.

PRONOUNS.—A. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

a. Independent Personal Pronouns.—§ 94. *a*) אֲנָא *I;* אַתְּ, rarely אַנְתְּ, *thou;* אִידְהוּ,[1] הוּא *he;* אִידְהִי, הִיא *she;* אֲנַן, rarely אַנְחְנָא, *we;* אַתּוּן, rarely אַנְתּוּ, אַתּוּ, אַנְתְּ, אַתְּ, *ye;* אִינְהוּ, rarely אִינּוּן, *they,* masc.; אִינְהִי *they,* fem.

b) References: אֲנָא *I,* Ned. 5 *a*, 44 *b;* B. B. 59 *b;* a. fr.—אֲנַן *we,* Ned. 56 *a*, Ber. 56 *b;* a. fr. אַנְחְנָא *we,* B. B. 164 *a*, Sanh. 11 *ab* (taken from Biblical Aramaic).—אַתְּ *thou,* Ned. 5*a*, 21 *a;* a. fr. אַנְתְּ *thou,* Ned. 91 *b*, Taan. 29 *a;* Sabb. 30 *a;* B. M. 26 *b*, 39*b*, 109 *b;* a. e.—אַתּוּן *ye,* Ned. 50 *b*, 55 *a;* a. fr. אַתּוּ *ye,* Sanh. 109 *a*. דְּאַתּוּ גַּנָּבֵי *that you are thieves;* אֲנָא וְאַתּוּ *I and ye,* Col MS., Pes. 110 *a;* אַתּוּ הוּא דְּקָעֲבַדִיתוּ *it is ye who did,* etc., M. MS., B. M. 73 *a*. אַנְתּוּ *ye,* B. M. eds. 37 *a*. אַנְתּוּ גּוּפַיְיכוּ *ye yourselves.* אַנְתְּ *ye,* Pes. 110 *a* (V. L., a. l., n. 20). אַנְתְּ וְאָנָא ז' *ye and I are seven;* אַנְתּוּ גּוּפַיְיכוּ *ye yourselves,* B. M. 37 *a*. אַתְּ *ye,* Pes. 110 *a* (V. L., *loc. cit.*). אַתְּ וְאָנָא ה' *ye and I are five.*—אִידְהוּ *he,* Ned. 55 *a;* a. fr. הוּא *he, it is,* B. B. 111*a;* Ned. 51 *a*, 55 *a;* a. fr. אִידְהִי *she,* Meg. 14 *a;* Nidd. 72 *b;* a. e. הִיא *she, it is,* Ned. 23 *a*, 50 *a*, 91 *a;* a. e.—אִינְהוּ *they,* masc., Ned. 20 *b;* a. fr. אִינּוּן *they,* masc. and fem., in older language, Keth. 23 *a;* Ned. 42 *b*, 52 *b;* Naz. 47 *b*, 57 *b*, 64 *b;* Taan. 18 *b;* B. B. 165 *b;* Ber. 50 *a;* B. M. 104 *b;* a. e. אִינְהִי *they,* fem., Ber. 44 *a;* Keth. 2 *b;* a. e.

§ 95. The demonstrative pronoun אִינָךְ is at times used as a personal pronoun for the third person plural of both genders. *Cf.* Keth. 111 *a*, Meg. 16 *a*, Ḥull. 53 *a*, Bekh. 5 *a*.

§ 96. In our editions there occurs once the pronoun נְוֹלָא *he, she.* אַתְּ וְנְוֹלָא אַחֲרִי *thou and she are relatives,* B. M. 67 *a;* in older texts it must have occurred more frequently; *cf.* אֲנָא וְנְוֹלָא *I and he,* Aruch Compl. Nid. 25 *b;* אִידְהוּ וְנְוֹלָא *he and she, ibid.* Gitt. 68 *b*. Kohut, *Ar. Compl.*, s. v., has also the variant נְיֹלָא.

[1] Col. MS., Meg. 16 *a*, vocalizes אֵידְהוּ.

The word is identical with נְהַלָּהּ or נִיהַלָּהּ originally *to her*, the ה having changed to ו or י. The dative fem. came to be used for the nominative of both genders. *Cf.* נִיהַלִּיהּ=נִיהַלָּא M. MS., Sabb. 156 *b*, and lî, lan, *I, we*, in the Chaldeo-Pahlavi for 'anâ, 'anan.

§ 97. The forms אִידְהוּ, אִידְהִי, אִינְהוּ, אִינְהִי, are shortened from אִיהוּא, אִיהִיא, אִינְהֵין, אִינְהוֹן, the first element אִי, אִיכְ, being demonstrative elements אִי, אִי+נ.[1] The forms הוּא, הִיא are used mostly as copula.[2]

b. Enclitic Personal Pronouns.—§ 98. The pronouns of the first and second persons are generally joined enclitically to the participles, and rarely to adjectives, so as to form, with the latter, one word. They are then shortened and assume the following forms:

MASCULINE.

	Singular.	*Plural.*
1. *a.*	(־)נָא	*a.* [(־)נָן], (־)נִין, (־)ן, (־)נָא
β.	[(־)ן], (־)נָא, (־ִי)נָא, (־)נָא	*β.* [(־)נָן], (־ִי)נָא, (־)נָן, (־)נָן
2. *a.*	(־)תְּ	*a.* (־)תּוּן
β.	[(־ִי)ת], (־)ת	*β.* (־)תּוּן

§ 99. Of the feminine, only the second person sing. is found in a few examples: אֲסִירַת לִי *thou art forbidden for me*, Sanh. 20 *a*; מִינְסֵבַת לִי *wilt thou marry me?* Keth. 81 *b*; מְדַבְּרַת *wilt thou lead? ibid.* 63 *a*; גְּבִיאַת *thou collectest payment, ibid.* 43 *b*.

§ 100. The forms under *a* are used with verbs whose final radical is a consonant; those under *β* with ל״י verbs. The forms in brackets occur only sporadically.

§ 101. The plural forms under *a* are sometimes joined to the singular theme of the participles and are in such a case preceded by שִׁבָּא. For examples see §§ 271, 272.

[1] On the various etymologies suggested for these pronouns, *cf.* Fuerst, *Lehrg. d. aram. Id.*, p. 231 *sq.*; Hupfeld, *ZKM.*, II., 124 *sq.*; Boettcher, *Hebr. Gram.*, § 869, 2; Noeldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, pp. 68, n. 3, 92, n. 1; Duval, *Gram. Syriaque*, p. 168, n. 2; Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, pp. 98, 106; Dillmann, *Gram. d. aethiop. Sprache*, p. 267; Merx, *Gram. Syr.*, p. 167; Levy, *Neuh. Wb.*, s. v. אָהוּ; Jastrow, *Diction.*, s. v. אָ. For the Neo-Syriac forms ahu, ahi, anhi, *cf.* Guidi, *ZDMG.*, xxxvii, 293 *sq.* *Cf.* also Maclean, *Gram. of Vernacular Syriac*, p. 17.

[2] In later literature: אִינָן *we*, HG. 319; אַנְתִּי *thou* (masc.), *ibid.* 403; אַתּוּ *ye, ibid.* 404; אַתִּין (masc.), *ibid.* 208; אִינְהָן MV. 35; אִירְהָן *he*, HG. 394; אִי[ד]=הִיא[ד] *she. ibid.* 305.

§ 102. In consequence of the promiscuous use of the preformatives נ and ל with the third person masculine, the first person plural adopted by analogy a similar usage. As a result of this, both forms, the third person masculine singular and the first person plural, became indistinguishable. To remedy this, the enclitic personal pronoun was sometimes attached to the latter. לִיעְבִּינַן *let us consider*, Sabb. 30 *b*; לִיבְטְלִינַן *let us abolish*, Col. MS., Zeb. 38 *a*; נִיתְיָאן *let us infer*, *ibid.* 106 *b*.

§ 103. Rosenberg[1] sees in forms like אוֹקִימְנָא (Sabb. 83 *a*, B. M. 86 *a*, a. e.), אִידַּבְּקְנָא (Sanh. 29 *a*), and אוֹתִיבְנָא (Sabb. 121 *b*), forms of the perfect with an enclitic instead of a constitutive pronoun. This is erroneous; such forms are regular plurals used for the singular; *cf.* below, § 106.

§ 104. The same author explains (*loc. cit.*) forms like תַּסְבְּרָא, תַּיְמְרָא, as composed of the respective verb and the singular pronoun of the second person "אַתְּ" with apocope of final "תְּ." The second element is rather the objective suffix of the third person feminine, which latter refers to a word like בַּיְתָא understood. Thus, תַּסְבְּרָא, תַּיְמְרָא, = תַּסְבְּרַהּ, תַּיְמְרַהּ; *cf.* נִצְרְכָא = נִצְרְכַהּ *we need it;* אִתְמְהָא = אִתְמְהַהּ *I wonder at it.*

§ 105. It will be observed that not only do the suffixes for the singular and the plural nouns show a promiscuous use, but the singular and plural suffixes themselves are sometimes not differentiated. The genders, moreover, sometimes interchange, though much more rarely.[2] This circumstance seems to be due to the fact that some of the singular suffixes, having become worn out, have lost their suggestiveness and have been supplanted by the more sonorous and emphatic plural forms, and this caused the confusion of all forms.

§ 106. Another perplexity is encountered by the student in the use of the first person plural for the same person in the singular, which is an expression of modesty or of generalizing indefiniteness. That plural is sometimes found together with the singular in one and the same clause; *e. g.*, וְדִכְרִינַן נַמִּי דַּאֲמַרִי לֵיהּ *and I* (*we*) *remember also having told him*, B. M. 8 *b*; הִלַּאר פַּרְסָאֵי

[1] *Das aramäische Verbum im babylonischen Talmud*, p. 15.

[2] For a similar promiscuous use of the pronouns in other languages *cf.* Böttcher, *op. cit.* § 878.

לָא מוֹקְמִינַן לֵיהּ אֲנַן *for I (we) am not a Persian*, eds. *ibid.* 28 *b*; לֵירוֹק אֲנָא *I (we) should not explain it*, Pes. 90 *a*; לֵירוֹק אֲנָא *I spit out*, M. MS., Sabb. 145 *b*; נִיקּוּץ אֲנָא *I shall cut down*, B. M. 107 *b*.[1] This use of the plural promiscuously with the singular has misled even such men as the late Jacob Levy[2] and Th. Noeldeke[3] into erroneous theories. Thus Levy assumes a paragogic *nûn* in the first person singular; and Noeldeke explains such forms as קטלינא, which occur on almost every page of the voluminous Talmud, as scribal errors. Whether these forms follow the analogy of ל״י verbs or are plurals used as singulars, or are due to both causes, they are certainly legitimate formations.

c. Possessive Suffixes.—§ 107.

SINGULAR.

	With Singular Nouns.	*With Plural Nouns.*
1. c.	־ִי	־ַי, ־ֵי, ־ָי
2. m.	־ָךְ, ־ֶךָ	־ֶיךָ, ־ֶיךָ
2. f.	־ִיךְ, ־ֵךְ [־ֶכִי, ־ֶיכִי]	־ַיִךְ, ־ֶיךָ [־ֶיכִי]
3. m.	־ֵיהּ [־ֵי, ־ֵהּ, ־ֶהִי, ־ֶיהִי] ־ֶהוּ, ־ֵהוּ, ־ֶיהוּ]	־ֵיהּ [־ֹוהִי, ־ֹויִי, ־ֹוי, ־ָהוּ, ־ֶהִי]
3. f.	[־ָהּ, ־ָא, [־ֵהּ, ־ֶהָא, ־ָהָא]	־ֶיהָ, ־ֵהּ [־ֹוהִי, ־ָהָא]

PLURAL.

1. c.	[־ָן, ־ָן, [־ָן, ־ָנָא, ־ָנָא, ־ָאנָא]	־ָן, ־ָן, ־ָנָן
2. m.	[־ֵכוֹן, ־ֵכוֹן, ־ֵכוּ, ־ֵכוֹן, ־ֶכֶן]	־ֵיכוּ [־ֵיכוֹן, ־ֵיכֶן]
2. f.		־ֵיכִי
3. m.	־ֵהוּ, [־ֵהוּ, ־ֶהוֹן, ־ֶהוֹן, ־ֶהֶן, ־ֶהֶן, ־ָן	־ֵיכוּ [־ֵיהוֹן, ־ֵיהֶן, ־ֵיהֶן, ־ֹוהוֹן, ־ֶהוּ, ־ֶיהוּ]
3. f.	־ֶהִי	־ֶיהִי [־ֶהִי, ־ֹוהִי]

§ 108. The form ־ֹוהִי arose from ־ֶיהוּ by metathesis; ־ֶיהִי becoming ־ֹוהִי. From this form is derived the suffix 3d masc. sing. ־ֶהִי. ־ֶכֶן, ־ֶהֶן, and ־ָן are Hebraisms. ־ֶיהוּ is properly objective suffix. Forms in brackets are of rare occurrence. For examples, see Nouns.

[1] An analogous use of the plural is found in the Jerusalem Talmud; *cf.* M. Schlesinger's *Aram. Verb. im Jer. Talm.*, p. 15 *sq.*

[2] *Neuh. u. chald. Wb.* s. v. נ.

[3] A. Rosenberg, *Das Aram. Verb. im Babyl. Talm.*, p. 28.

§ 109. Familiar nouns, especially those denoting family relationship, are frequently used without possessive suffixes.

1. First person: אִמָּא *my mother*, M. Q. 20*b*, a. e.; אֵם id. M. Q. 12*a*, Gitt. 70*a*, Sabb. 66*b*, Ber. 39*b*, Yôm. 78*a*, a. e.; אַבָּא *my father*, M. Q. 20*b*, Meg. 12*b*, B. M. 59*b*, a. e.; סָבְתָּא *my grandmother*, B. B. 125*ab*; בִּיר *my son*, Ber. 5*b*; בְּרַת *my daughter*, Ḥull. 95*b*, Keth. 54*a*, 109*b*; אִיתַּת *my wife*, B. B. 132*b*; בִּכוּלָּהּ יְדָא *into my whole hand*, Ber. 56*b*; לְפוּרְיָהּ *to my bed*, *ibid.*; וְאַמְטִינְהוּ לְבֵיתָא *and bring them to my house*, Qidd. 22*b*; מִן בֵּיתָא עַד בֵּי מִדְרְשָׁא *from my house to the college*, Ned. 59*b*: (in the parallel passage Ber. 55*a* we have אוֹשְׁפִּיזַאי for בֵּיתָא). מַאי דְּקַמָּא *what is that before me? i. e.*, how do I come to that? On קַמָּא, קַמָּה = קָמָן *before us*, see Levy, *Neuh. Wb.* s. v. קַמָּא, I.

2. Third person: אִתְּתָא שְׁכִיבָא *his* (thy) *wife is going to die*, Ber. 56*a*; קְטַלִינְהוּ לְכוּלְּהוּ מָרְוָותָא *he killed all his masters*, B. B. 3*b*; מִי אִיפָּא אַבָּא דְּקָאִים מִקַּמֵּי בְּרָא *would a father ever rise up before his son?* Keth. 62*b*; דְּקוֹלְסָא גַּבְרָא *whose husband is a kitchen-gardener*, Yeb. 118*b*; דְּשׁוּשְׁבְּנָא גַּבְרָא *whose husband is as small as an ant*, *ibid.*

§ 110. The suffix of the first person sing. is sometimes omitted: מָר *my lord*, *sir*, frequently; כְּוָת *like me*, Col. MS., Pes. 105*b*: חֲדָאי נַפְשׁ חֲדָאי נַפְשׁ *rejoice my soul, rejoice my soul*, *ibid.* 68*b*; מִיָּן *from me*, B. B. 142*b*, M. MS., *ibid.* Ḥag. 22*b*, *ibid.* 15*b*, V. L. ad l. n. 4, Er. 53*b*. In the last passage as an example of the Galilean dialect.

§ 111. אִית *there is* and לֵית *there is not*, on account of their verbal force take mostly objective suffixes. But these suffixes differ somewhat from those given in the table below. אִיתַאי *am*, Ned. 81*a*; אִיתְיָן Pes. 50*a*; M. MS., *ibid.* אִיתְנָן *we are*; אִיתְנָכוּ Yeb, 116*a*, אִיתִינְכוּ Pes. 87*b*, אִיתְנִיכוּ *ibid.* M. MS., *you are*; אִיתֵיהּ *is*, B. Q. 46*b*; אִיתְנְהוּ *they are*, R. H. 20*a*, a. e., אִיתְנְהוֹן, Tam. 5*a*; אִתְינוּן, Me'ilā 7*a*, read אִיתְנוּן = *ibid.* 5*b*; לֵיתְנְהוּ *they are not*, Zeb. 14*b*, 18*b*, a. e.; לֵיתְנִיהוּ, Er. 46*b*, Pes. 87*b*; *ibid.* M. MS. לֵיתְנִיהוּ; אִיתְנְהִי *they are*, fem., Šebû 14*b*.[1]

[1] לִיתְהִי *he is absent*, Keth. 22*a*, a. e., belongs to legal style. In אִיתְהוּ אֲנַן *we are*, Pes. 50*a*, אִית has assumed verbal, more correctly participial, form.

d. Objective Suffixes.—§ 112.

	Singular.	*Plural.*
1. c.	־ִי, ־ְתַן, ־ְתָן, ־ָאן, ־ִין, ־ֵן, ־ָן	־ֵנָּ(־), ־ֵנָא, ־ֵנָן, ־ֵנָן, ־ֵנָן, ־ָנָן, ־ָן, ־ָן
2. m.	־ָךְ, ־ָאךְ, ־ִיךְ, ־ֵךְ, ־ְיָךְ, ־ְכָה, ־ְכוּ, ־ְכוֹ	־ֵיכוּ, ־ָכֶם, ־כֶם, ־ֵיכוּ
2. f.		־ָכֶי
3. m.	־ֵיהּ, ־ֵי, ־ֵהוּ, ־ֵהוּ, ־ֵהוּ, ־ֵהִי, ־ָהּ ־ֵיהֶן, ־ֵיהֶן, ־ֵיהֶן, ־ֵיהֶם ־ֵתֵיהֶם, ־ֵנָתֵיהֶם	־ֵיהֶם, ־ֵיהֶם, ־ֵיהֶם, ־ֵיהֶם, ־ֵיהֶם, ־ֵיהֶם, ־ֵיהֶם, ־ֵיהֶם ־ֵנּוּ, ־ֵיאָה, ־ֵיהָן, ־ֵהוֹן, ־ֵהוּ, ־ֵהוּ ־ֵיהוּ
3. f.	־ָהּ, ־ָא, ־ָהּ, ־ָהָא, ־ֵיתָהּ	־ֵיהֶם, ־ֵיהֶן, ־ֵיהֶן

§ 113. The distinction between the suffixes of the perfect and those of the imperfect are obliterated.

§ 114. The ת element in the suffixes is derived from the objective particle אֵת. This is clear from a form like דבלעיתה *that he swallow it*, Ned. 50 *b*, where the commentaries have דבלע יתה in two words.

§ 115. ־ִין, ־ָן are shortened forms for ־ֵיהֶן, ־ֵיהֶם; for ־ֵיאָה, ־ֵינָא *cf.* the Targumic אִינָא, אֲנָא. But it may also be a mistake of the copyists: ינה stood for ינהו = ינהון; the sign of abbreviation was omitted and then written נא.—־ֵיהוּ is so vocalized by the Col. MSS. The דָּגֵשׁ shows the presence of the energetic *nûn*.

B. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 116. Those referring to a nearer object, or to the subject under consideration, are:

Sing. masc. (הָךְ, הָנָן, הָנָא, and contracted הַאי, הֵין, הֵדֵין, and contracted הָא) *this, that*

fem. הָא, הַהִיא, (הָכִי, דָּא, עָדָא, הָאדֵי); הַאי, Col. MS. הָאִי, contracted from הָהִיא.

Plur. masc. הַנְהוּ, (הֵינוּ, הָלֵין, אִלֵּין, עִדֵּי)

fem. הַנֵּי, (הָלֵין, הָנוּן, אִנִּין) *these, those.*

§ 117. Those referring to a distant object are:

Sing. masc. הָהוּא, (הָאִיךְ, הָאִיךְ, דֵּיכִי) *that one there.*

fem. הָהִיא, הָהּ, (הֵיךְ).

com. אִידָךְ *that one there, the other.*

Plur. com. אִינָךְ, הִנָּךְ.

§ 118. אִידֵי, only in the phrase אִידֵי וְאִידֵי *both this and that, these and those*, is used for both genders and both numbers.

§ 119. References: דֵּן (דְּ+ן) Gitt. 85 *b*, a. e.; דִּין Ber. 38 *b*, B. Q. 99 *b*, Sanh. 31 *a*, Keth. 17 *a*, Sôt. 35 *a*, a. e.—הָדֵין (הָא+דֵי+ן), Ker. 25 *b*, Keth. 103 *a*, Me'îlā 12 *b*, and frequently in Ned. and Nāzîr.—הָנָא (=הֵן), Gitt. 85 *b*.—הָנָן (הָנָא+ן), Keth. 22 *a*, 89 *b*; Gitt. 85 *b*; B. M. 15 *a*, 18 *a*.—הָן (הָא+ן), Col. MS., Zeb. 89 *a*.—הָא (contracted from הָדָא) frequent.—הָדָא (הָא+דָא), Ned. 53 *a*, 55 *a*, a. e.—דָּא Ned. 41 *a*, Sabb. 52 *b*, a. e.—הָאדֵי (הָא+דֵי), Col. MS., Pes. 75 *b*.—עָדָא (only orthographically different from הָדָא), Pes. 53 *b*, B. M. 60 *a*, Bekh. 45 *b*.—הָכִי (הָא+כִּי=כֵּן), properly an adverb; MSS. Men. 3 *b*; כָּל הָכִי *all this*, Ber. 20 *b*; בְּלַאו הָכִי *without this*, אַבְּטוּל הָכִי *because of this*, frequent.—הַאי, frequent.—הֵינוּ (הֵן+הוּן), frequent.—הַנְהוּ (=הַנּוּ=הַנְהוּ), with compensatory lengthening (v. § 77), הֵינוּ בֵּיכֵי Ḥull. 11 *a*, eds.—הָלֵין (הָא+אִלֵּין), Tam. 11 *a*, B. M. 90 *a*, and frequently in Ned. and Nāzîr.—אִלֵּין (אל+ן=Hebr. אֵלֶּה), B. M. 15 *a*, 67 *b*, 110 *a*; Taan. 17 *b*; B. B, 38 *a*, 63 *a*; Keth. 87 *a*. Only in legal style.—עֲדֵי (=הָדֵין), properly a singular, Gitt. 31 *b*, 45 *b*; Men. 34 *b*, a. e.; הַנֵּי (contracted from הַנְהֵי=הַנְהֵין), frequent.—אַהַנֵּי (אַ+הַנֵּי), only Col. MS., Meg. 2 *b*.—הָנוּן, *TF.*, p. 25.—הָלֵין, *ibid.* 1.—הָהוּא (הָא+הוּא) frequent.—הָאִיךְ (הַאי+דְּ) frequent.—הָאֵיךְ (=הָאִיךְ), Col. MS., Zeb. 49 *a*, a. e.[1]—דֵּיכִי or דִּיכִי (דִּין+כִּי), B. M. 86 *a*, Zeb. 43 *b*, Ḥull. 90 *b*.—הָהִיא (הָא+הִיא), frequent.—הָךְ or הַךְ (הָא+דְּ), frequent.—הִיךְ (§ 69), M. MS., Pes. 111 *b*.—אִידָךְ (אִי+דָּ+דְּ), frequent.—הַנָּךְ (הָן+דְּ, § 119), frequent.—אִינָךְ (אִי+נָ+דְּ), Ar. 32 *b*, Bekh. 20 *b*, Me'îlā 15 *b*, a. e.[2]

§ 120. Forms in parentheses are of rare occurrence, and belong partly to the Palestinean dialects.

[1] The ך final in demonstrative pronouns is taken by M. Schultze (*Zur Formenlehre des Semit. Verbs*, p. 19, note 1) to be identical with the pronominal suffix of the 2d person; דָּךְ, דָּךְ he translates *hic tibi, haec tibi*, אִלֵּךְ would be *hae, hi, tibi*. In the latter form he sees the construct state of the absolute אִלֵּין. That ך represents here the 2d person is, however, not necessarily the case, since one and the same pronominal element may represent different persons. *Cf. ZDMG.*, 1875, 172.

[2] *HG.*, ed. Hildesheimer, p. 96, הֵינְהוּ; הַנְהוּ, הֵינוּ; הֵינֵי, הִינֵי. *HG.* 491; הֵינוּנוּ, *ibid.* 381. הִלֵּי *Letter of Condol. of Sam. Ha-Nāgîd to R. Ḥanan'ēl, Oçār Tôb*, II., 68; הֵירִי, *ibid.* 226. *Cf.* for the demonstrative force of the ל the Arabic ذلك, ذاك, Hebr. הַלָּזֶה, הַלָּזֹה, הֵילָךְ.—הֵינָךְ, *HG.* 374.—*Cf.* Targumic אִינָא *he*. אִיהָא (=הָהִיא) *MV.* 25. דִּיךְ *this* (legal style), *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 553.

§121. הָא is often joined to the following word, in which case the final א, which marks the length of the vowel, is not written. *E. g.*, הָדֵין, הַשְׁתָּא, הָכְתִיב=הָא דֵין, הָא שַׁעְתָּא, הָא כְתִיב.

§122. הָא, הוּא, הִיא sometimes unite with a preceding word, in which case they undergo phonetic or orthographic change. Thus, לָאוּ becomes לָא+הוּא *is not;* אִינוּ becomes אֵין הוּא, אִינִי becomes אֵין הִיא *is not;* מַהוּ is contracted to מַה הוּא *how is it, how about?* and others. אַהֲדָא becomes אַהֲדָא+הָא; מַאי=מַה הִיא; הַיְינָא=הַי+נָהֲדָא+הָא.

C. COPULATIVE PRONOUNS.

§123. *a*) The idiom of the Babylonian Talmud, differing in this respect from the cognate languages, has developed separate forms for the pronouns of the third person, when the latter imply the substantive verb and are used for the copula. These forms are:

Masc. sing.	נִיהוּ[1]	Masc. plur.	נִינְהוּ
Fem. sing.	נִיהִי	Fem. plur.	נִינְהִי

b) References: מַאי נִיהוּ *what is it?* Ned. 38 *b;* הוּא נִיהוּ *that it is, the very thing, ibid.;* אֲנָא נִיהוּ *it is I,* Taan. 24 *b;* מַאן נִיהוּ *who is it?* Pes. 104 *a;* מִי יָדַעְנָא הֵיכָא נִיהוּ *do I know where he is?*—נִיהִי Ber. 44 *a,* Ḥull. 43 *b,* a. e.—כּוּלְּהוּ חֲדָא מִינָא נִינְהוּ *they all belong to one and the same kind,* Ḥull. 79 *a;* and frequently.—נִינְהִי Col. MS., M. Q. 3*b*, 9*b*, a. e.; *TF.* 9.

§124. Luzzatto[2] and Nöldeke[3] consider the copulative pronouns to be of the corresponding forms of the personal pronouns; the former being formed out of the latter by the prefix נ, and the initial א lost in the process of composition. Said prefix Nöldeke (*loc. cit.*) considers to be a mutilated אן=הֵן, הִנֵּה. Such a use of that particle would find an excellent parallel in the Hebrew הִנֵּנִי, חִנְּךָ, etc., where that particle also exhibits a

[1] Col. MS. Alfâsî on Bêçâ 16*b* vocalizes נִיהוּ, *i. e.*, נַיְהוּ (§80). *Še'ēlt.*, ch. 18, has נְיהוּא.

[2] *Elem. gram. del dial. talm. Babilon.*, §52.

[3] *Mand Gramm.*, p. 92, n. 1.

verbal force; but *cf.* Duval's objection, *Gram. Syr.*, p. 168, note 2. Merx (*Gram. Syr.*, p. 168) derives נִינְהוּ from a supposed form 'inin + hu through aphæresis of initial vowel, and from the latter נִיהוּ through syncope of medial נ. I should suggest that the copulative forms have an independent genesis. They are not derivatives, but parallel formations of the personal pronouns. They consist of the pronominal suffixes and the syllable נִי, a contraction of נְהִי, which latter in its turn is an apocopated form of לֶהֱוֵי = נֶהֱוֵי, the third person singular of the imperfect of הֲוָא, הֲוֵי *to be.* That would explain why these forms are used only with the third person, while the Hebrew הִנֵּה may be used with all persons. A similar instance of the composition of הֲוָא is found in the term תִּינָח *granted*, which is a compound of תְּהֵי and נָח.[1]

W. H. Lowe[2] has the following remark about these forms: "He (Luzzatto) did not perceive that the prefixed נ changes the simple pronoun into the substitute for the copula." The above words are apt to mislead the reader into the belief that Luzzatto was ignorant of the copulative force of these forms. As a matter of fact, he states it (*loc. cit.*) clearly enough, and it is but just to the deceased scholar that this should be pointed out. E. Blücher[3] also, as far back as 1838, recognized the true nature of these forms.

§ 125. 1. הַיְנוּ, הַיְינוּ, frequent; הַיְנָא Col. MS., Meg. 7 *a;* הַיְנִי Col. MS., Zeb. 13 *b;* M. MS., Pes. 60 *a*, *this is*, *these are*, are contractions of הַי *this* and of the respective forms of the copulative pronouns. The uncontracted form הַי נִיהוּ is cited V. L. ad Men. 92 *b*, notes 2, 3.[4]

2. Noteworthy is the pleonastic construction of our word with the copulative pronouns: M. MS., Taan. 20 *b* (*bis*) הַיְינוּ נִינְהוּ *these are.*

§ 126. הַיְנוּ . . . . הַיְנוּ means: *this is one and the same, e. g.,* הַיְינוּ וְרַדִּימַס הַיְינוּ מְנַחֵם *Wardimas and Menaḥem are one and the same person,* Sabb. 118 *b.*

[1] Levy, *Nh. u. ch. Wb.*, s. v. תִּינָח.

[2] The Fragm. of T. B. Pesaḥim, p. 38, note 1.

[3] מִרְפֵּא לָשׁוֹן אֲרָמִי, p. 71.

[4] According to Halévy, *ZA.* IV., 59, הַיְנוּ is a contraction of הָא + אַי + נְ + הוּא!

§127. הֵינוּ is sometimes used as a simple copulative pronoun: דְּלָאו הֵינוּ אוֹרְחֵי *this is something unusual*, Mun. MS., Sanh. 48 *a*. מַאי נִיהוּ differs from מַאי הֲוֵי; the first meaning *what is it?*[1] the latter, *what would it become?*

D. RELATIVE PRONOUN.

§128. *a*) The older form of the relative pronoun דִּי occurs only in the Palestinean recension of Aboth I., 13, in legal style, in the combinations דִּילְ־, דִּיד־ (דִּי+ל, דִּי+ד)[2] of the emphatic possessive pronouns, and at times in the combination דִּילָא (דִּי+לָא) *that not*. I have found besides but two examples of it: דִּי לָא תִפְּוּוּ בְּנַחֲלָתִי *that you may not share my fate*, Meg. 16 *a*, and עַד דִּי קְטַל *until he had killed*, Sanh. 96 *b*. The usual form of it is דְּ.

b) References: דִּילִי *mine*, B. M. 109 *b*, Ned. 50 *a*, 61 *a*; דִּילָךְ *thine*, B. M. 109 *b*, Ned. 5 *a*; דִּילַהּ *her*, Naz. 30 *a*, Ned. 36 *b*, 70 *a*, Sabb. 80 *b*, B. B. 33 *b*; דִּילָן *our*, Ned. 49 *a*; דִּילְכוֹן *your*, B. Q. 117 *b*; דִּלְכוֹן, Suk. 44 *a*; דִּילְהוֹן *their*, Gitt. 84 *b*, B. Q. 117 *b*; דִּלְהוֹן Sukk. 44 *a*.—דִּידִי, דִּידָךְ, דִּידֵהּ, דִּידָן, דִּידְכוּ, דִּידְהוּ, דִּידֵיהוּ, דִּידְהִי, frequent.

c) The usual form of the possessive is דִּיד־; the form דִּיל־ occurs but seldom. דִּיד is a reduplication of the relative דִּי.

d) Instead of the usual וּלְדִידָךְ we find וְלָךְ דִּילָךְ *TF.*, p. 7.

E. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

§129. *a*) מַאן, מַן (מִי) *who?* מַאי[3] (מָה, מָא) *what?* הֵי *which, which one?* (הֵידִי, הֵידֵין, הֵי דֵין, אֵידֵין) *which now* (*quisnam?*) (מַה דֵּין) *what now* (*quidnam?*) מַהוּ, (מִידִי, מַדְּעִי, מַנְּיְהִי) *what is it?* הֵינוּ (הֵי+נִיהוּ or הֵידֵין+הוּא) *which is it?* מַנְּוּ (מַן+הוּא=) *who is he? whose is it?* מַנְּי *who is she? whose is it?*[4]

b) References: מִי A. Z. 41 *b*; מַה אַתּוּן בְּיהּ *how do you deal with it?* הֵי frequent; הֵידֵין, Men. 109 *a*; הֵי דֵין, Ned. 26 *b*; אֵידֵין מַה דֵּין Tam.

[1] *Cf.* Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[2] *Cf.* Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 87; *cf.* Maclean, *Gram. of Vernacular Syr.*, pp. 19, 55, 181.

[3] מַאי is a contraction *a*) in some cases of מָא דִּין, *b*) in other of מָא הִיא (§122). *TF.* vocalizes מָאי.

[4] *HG.* 71, הַיָּא; *ibid.* 233, הַאי; *ibid.* 438 אַי. *Še'el.*, pp. 6, 77, 80, 83, has הַיְדָא, id. *HG.* 178, a. e. מַהִיא *Še'ēlt.* I.; *HG.* 95, 104, a. e. הַיְנוּ *HG.* 276. מַה, מַאי used for מַאן *HG.* 22, 25, 68, 263.

32 *a*; הֵידִי MSS. Zeb. 69 *a*; בֵּהִי MS. R. 117, B. M. 2 *b*, Pes. 90 *b*; מִיהִי M. MS., B. M. 2 *b*; מַנְיְהִי (=בַּהּ+נְיְהִי) M. MS., B. B. 8 *a*; הַיְינוּ, Naz. 12 *a*.—מַאן מִינַיְהוּ *which of them?* B. B. 12 *b*, for the usual הֵי מִינַיְיהוּ.—בַּאי מְשׁוּתַבַּע *why should he swear?* F. MS., B. M. 82 *b*.

F. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

a. Positive Indefinites.—§ 130. פְּלָנְיָא,[1] פְּלָן *Mr. So and So, N. N.*; פְּלָנִיתָא *Mrs.* or *Miss So and So.*—מִי *somebody.*—מִידֵּי,[2] מִידֵּם, (מִדֵּעַם)[3] *something*, מִילְּתָא *something.*—מַן דְּהוּ, *somebody*; אִינִישׁ *somebody*: מִידַּע יְדִיעַ הוּכְּתָא דְּאִינִישׁ אִינִישׁ הוּא *it is known that the place belongs to this or that man*, B. M. 21 *b*; *cf. ibid.* 23 *a*.—הָכִי וְהָכִי *this and that, so and so.*—חַד . . . . וְחַד *the one . . . . the other*; חַד . . . . חַד *the one . . . . the other* M. Q. 25 *b*.

§ 131. אִיכָּא *est qui, sunt qui* is used in the sense of *some*: אִיכָּא דְּאָמְרִי *some say.*

§ 132. כּוּלֵּי עָלְמָא *the whole world* is sometimes used in the sense of *anybody, anyone, everybody.*

§ 133. חִילֶּק and בִּילֶּק are used like our *Tom, Dick and Harry* for *anyone*: אֲנָא לָא חִילֶּק יְדַעְנָא וְלָא בִּילֶּק יְדַעְנָא אֶלָּא שְׁמַעְתָּא יְדַעְנָא *I know no Ḥillāq and no Billāq, I know only a tradition*, Ḥull. 19 *a*; חִילֶּק וּבִילֶּק אֲכָלִי לְהוּ *shall Ḥillāq and Billāq enjoy it?* Sanh. 98 *b*.[4]

§ 134. כֹּל *all, every*; כָּל אִינָשׁ *everybody, everyone*; כָּל חַד וְחַד *each and everyone*; כָּל בַּאן ד . . . . *whoever*; כָּל ד . . . . *whoever, whatever*; כָּל בַּאי ד . . . *whatever*; כָּל דְּהוּ *whatsoever*; כָּל מִדֵּעַם, כָּל מִידֵּי (Ned. 49 *a*) *anything.*

b. Negative Indefinites.—§ 135. לֵיכָּא בַּאן, לֵית בַּאן ד . . . , לֵית ד . . . , כּוּלֵּי עָלְמָא לָא, *none, nobody, no one.*—לֵית . . . לָא . . . וְלָא מִידֵּי, כָּל מִדֵּעַם לָא, מִדֵּעַם לָא *nothing.*

[1] In later literature פְּלָן is used also for inanimate objects: בְּזוּזֵי פְּלָן *for so and so much money* Še'elt, 36; בְּדוּכְתָא פְּלָן *in such and such a place, ibid.* 51.

[2] In the opinion of Professor Haupt מִדֵּי is not a mutilated form of מִדֵּעַם but is the Hebrew דַּי, דֵּי, *sufficiency* + מִן *from*; literally, *of a sufficiency.*

[3] In Palmyrean מדעמא, *cf. ZDMG.* 42, 398, where the word is vocalized wrongly מִדְעַמָּא; read מִדַּעַמָּא. Assyr. mindêma.

[4] This is perhaps connected with the Arabic غُلَق (جاء بـ) *misfortune.*

NUMERALS.

A. Cardinals.—§ 136.

		a) With Masculine Nouns.	*With Feminine Nouns.*	
1.	א׳	חַד	חֲדָא	
2.	ב׳	תְּרֵין, תְּרֵי, תְּנֵי	תַּרְתֵּין, תַּרְתֵּי, תַּלְתֵּי	
3.	ג׳	†תְּלָתָא	תְּלַת	
4.	ד׳	†אַרְבָּעָא, אַרְבְּעֵי	אַרְבַּע	
5.	ה׳	†חַמְשָׁא	חֲמֵשׁ	
6.	ו׳	†שְׁתָּא	שִׁית or שֵׁית	
7.	ז׳	†שַׁבְעָא, (שַׁבְעַת)	שַׁב or שֶׁבַע, שְׁבַע	
8.	ח׳	†תְּמָנְיָא	תְּמָנְיָ or תַּמְנֵי	
9.	ט׳	†תִּשְׁעָא, (תִּשְׁעַת)	תְּשַׁע	
10.	י׳	†עַשְׂרָא	עֲשַׂר	
11.	י״א	*חַד סַר, חַד עֲשַׂר	*חַד סְרֵי, חֲדֵי סְרֵי	
12.	י״ב	*תְּרֵי סַר, תְּרֵי עֲשַׂר, תְּלֵיסַר	*תְּרֵי סְרֵי, תְּרֵי עֲשַׂרְה	
13.	י״ג	תְּלֵיסַר, תְּלָת עֲשַׂר, תְּרֵיסַר	*תְּלֵי סְרֵי, תְּלָת עֲשַׂרְי, תְּלָת עֲשָׂרָה, תְּלָת סְרֵי	
14.	י״ד	אַרְבֵּיסַר, אַרְבָּסַר	אַרְבַּסְרֵי, אַרְבַּע סְרֵי	
15.	ט״ו	חֵמֵיסַר	חַמְסַרְי, חֲמֵשׁ עֲשָׂרָה	
16.	י״ו, ט״ז	*שִׁית סַר, *שְׁתֵּי סַר	*שִׁית סְרֵי, שִׁית עֲשָׂרָה	
17.	י״ז	*שַׁב סַר, שֵׁיבְסַר	*שַׁב סְרֵי, שַׁב עֲשָׂרָה, שְׁבַע עֲשָׂרָה	
18.	י״ח	*תְּמָנֵי סַר, תְּמָנֵי עֲשַׂר	*תְּמָנֵי סְרֵי	
19.	י״ט	תְּשָׁסַר	תְּשֵׁיסְרֵי, תְּשַׁסְרֵי, תְּשִׁסְרֵי, תְּשַׁע עֲשָׂרָה	

20.	כ׳	עֶשְׂרִין, עַסְרִין	60. ס׳	שְׁתִּין, שְׁתֵּי	100. ק׳	מְאָה	
30.	ל׳	תְּלָתִין, תוּלְתִין	70. ע׳	שַׁבְעִין	200. ר׳	מָאתַן, מָאתֵי	
40.	מ׳	אַרְבְּעִין	80. פ׳	תְּמָנִין, תְּמָנָן	1,000. תת״ר, א	אֶלֶף	
50.	נ׳	חַמְשִׁין	90. צ׳	תִּשְׁעִין	10,000. (?)	רִבּוֹא, רִבְבָתָא	

b) References: תְּלָתֵי, with change of liquids: M. MS., Sabb. 110 *a*.—תְּנֵי, with original *nûn*, as in תְּנֵין, Col. MS., M. Q. 9 *a*.—אַרְבְּעֵי: B. B. 30 *a*, 60 *a*; Er. 50 *b*; Col. MS., Pes. 13 *a*; a. e.—שְׁבַעְתְּ: Keth. 67 *b*; תְּשַׁעְתְּ: B. B. 62 *b*.—חֲדֵיסַר: Taan. 18 *b*.—חֲדֵי סְרֵי: Col. MS., Zeb. 58 *b*.—חַד עֲשַׂר: Nidd. 54 *a*.—חַד סַר: R. H. 21 *a*; a. e.—תְּרֵי סְרֵי: Keth. 62 *b*; a. e.—תְּרֵי עֲשַׂר: 2 M. MS., Yôm. 69 *b*, 84 *a*; a. e.—תְּלֵיסְרֵי: B. B. 133 *b*; Gitt. 68 *b*.—תְּלַת עֲשְׂרֵי: Ned. 41 a.—תְּלַת עֲשְׂרֵה: Taan. 14 *b*.—תְּלַת עֲשַׂר: Keth. 77 *b*.—תְּלַת סְרֵי: Ber. 55 *b*.—אַרְבְּסְרֵי: Ar. 12 *b*; Col. MS., Meg. 17 *a*.—אַרְבַּע סְרֵי: Ar. 12 *a*; Sabb. 98 *b*.—אַרְבְּסַר: Pes. 4 *a*, 9 *b*; Col. MS., Meg. 2 *b*.—חֲמֵשׁ עֲשְׂרֵה: Ar. 12 *a*.—שֵׁית עֲשְׂרֵה: B. B. 91 *b*.—שְׁתֵּי סַר: Col. MS., Meg. 2 *b*, 6 *a*.—שְׁבַע עֲשְׂרֵה: B. B. 91 *b*.—שְׁבַע עֲשְׂרֵה: Er. 83 *a*.—שֵׁיבְסַר: Er. 76 *b*, Meg. 2 *a*.—שְׁבְסַר: Bekh. 50 *a*.—תְּשֵׁיסְרֵי: Ber. 28 *b*.—תְּשַׁסְרֵי: Sabb. 17 *b*.—תְּשִׁסְרֵי: Ar. 12 *a*.—תְּשׁ עֲשְׂרֵה: M. MS., Taan. 13 *b*.—תְּעַסַּר: Nidd. 54 *a*.—עַסְרִין: Col. MS., Meg. 6 *a*, 17 *a*.—תּוּלְתִין: Col. MS., Pes. 68 *b*.—שְׁתִּי: Col. MS., Pes. 111 *a*.—שְׁתִּין, Col. MS., Meg. 7 *b*, vocalizes שִׁתִּין.—תְּמָנְיָן: Ar. 13 *a*; a. e.—תְּמָנָן: B. Q. 115 *a*; a. e.—מְאָתֵי: Col. MS., Pes. 64 *b*.—רְבוֹא: Sanh. 39 *a*.

מְאָה does not occur in the plural. אֶלֶם, in the construct state perhaps אֶלֶּם, in the emphatic state אַלְפָּא; in the plural אַלְפִּין (Ned. 50 *b*), אַלְפֵּן (Keth. 106 *a*), and usually אַלְפֵי.

The plural of רְבוֹא is רְבוֹאִין (Ned. 50 *b*), רְבוֹאָן (M. MS., A. Z. 16 *a*), רְבָוָן (Ḥull. 7 *a*), and commonly רְבָוָתָא (Sanh. 26 *a*, Gitt. 57 *a*, Pes. 62 *b*); that of רִבְבָתָא is רִבְבָן (Sanh. 16 *a*), רִבְבָתָא (Ber. 6 *a*), and רִבְבוֹתָא or רִבְבָוָתָא (MS. Karlsr. and R. Ḥananel, Sanh. 26 *a*).[1]

§ 137. Forms marked by a dagger end frequently also in ־ה; those marked by an asterisk are found also written in one word; parenthetic forms are in the construct state.

§ 138. The ending ־ָיִן is contracted to ־ִין, (־ֵי), ־ֶן, ־ִן, in the numerals for *2*, *80*, and *200*. Final *â* has been changed to *ê* under the influence of adjacent ע in אַרְבְּעֵי, חֲדֵיסַר, תְּלֵיסַר and the like (§ 73). The ending *ê* in תְּמֵנֵי represents an original *ai*. For the sifting of vowel in תְּמֵנֵי for תְּמָנֵי, תּוּלְתִין for תְּלָתִין, *cf.* § 92.

[1] The ן here may be an orthographical luxury to mark the plural; but may also represent ־ָן; *cf.* § 70.

§ 139. In תְּרֵין and תְּרֵתִין the original נ of the second radical has been dissimilated under the influence of the final ן (§ 53). The form תְּרֵי is formed by analogy of תְּרֵין. In תַּרְתֵּין original *i* of the first syllable became *a* under the influence of the following ר.[1]

§ 140. The following examples will illustrate how compound numbers greater than 19 are formed:

עַשְׂרִין וְחַד	21	Bekh. 50
עַשְׂרִין וְתַרְתֵּין	22	Meg. 6*a*
תְּלָת מְאָה וְשִׁתִּין וְאַרְבְּעָה	364	Yômâ 20 *a*
שִׁיתָּא אַלְפֵי	6,000	B. B. 73
תְּרֵיסַר אַלְפֵי	12,000	M. Q. 10 *b*
מְאָה אַלְפָּא	100,000	Bekh. 8 *b*
תְּלֵיסַר רִבְוָותָא	130,000	Sanh. 26 *a*
שִׁיתִּין רִבְוָון	600,000	Ḥull. 7 *a*
תְּלַת מְאָה רִבְוָותָא	3,000,000	Pes. 62 *b*
אֶלֶף אַלְפֵי רִבּוֹא	10,000,000,000	Sanh. 39 *a*

§ 141. The following examples show the influence of the Latin: שִׁבְעִין נְכִי חַדָּא *59*, Nidd. 30 *a;* שַׁבְעִין נְכִי חַדָּא *69*, Er. 83 *a;* תְּמָנֵן נְכִי תַרְתֵּי *78*, Ar. 13 *a;* תְּמָנֵן נְכִי תַרְתֵּין M. MS., Zeb. 118 *b;* *cf.* later Hebrew אַרְבָּעִים חָסֵר אֶחָת *39*.

§ 142. Through interchange of ל and ר, תְּלֵיסַר and תְּרֵיסַר are used interchangeably for *12* and *13*, and it is frequently impossible to know which number is meant. *Cf.* the various readings to B. M. 24 *b*, 46 *a*, 85 *a*, 86 *a;* B. B. 12 *a*, 77 *b*, 150 *b;* Sanh. 26 *a;* B. Q. 112 *b;* Ber. 4 *a*, 8 *a;* M. Q. 10 *b*, 24 *a*, 26 *a;* Bêçā 23 *a;* Yômâ 87 *b;* Taan. 18 *b* (*bis*), 25 *a;* Ḥag. 4 *a;* H. G. 352; a. e. A similar interchange is found in Neo-Syriac (Nöldeke, *N.-S. Gr.*, pp. 53, 153).

§ 143. A number denoting more than one may be considered as a unit, in which case the number so considered is preceded by the substantive בֵּי *house, family, body*. *E. g.*, בֵּי תְלָתָא, בֵּי תְרֵי *a body of two, three; two, three.*

[1] Later forms are: חַדָּא *Hal. Ged.* 206 (*bis*); תְּרָתָן *ibid.* 399; תְּלָתַי *three, Mach. Vitry* 119; חֲדִיסַר *Še'elt.* 109; חַדֵּי סְרֵי *ibid.* 116; חַד סַר *Ša'arê Tešubā*, § 172; תְּלֵי סְרֵי *ibid.*; שְׁתָּא עֲשַׂר *Hal. Ged.* 425, 595; שְׁבֵיסַר; חַמְסַר *ibid.* 46; שְׁתָסַר *ibid.*; שְׁתֵּי סַר *Hal. Pes.* § 39; תְּמְנֵי כַשְׂרֵי *ibid.* 146 (*bis*); תְּשְׁסַר *Mach. Vitry* 4; חַמְשֵׁי *fifty, H. G.* 452 (*bis*).

References: בֵּי תְרֵי frequent; בֵּיתְרֵי Col. MSS.; בֵּי תְרִין *two*, Sanh. 95 *a*; בֵּי תְלָתָא *three*, Sanh. 8 *a*; בֵּי אַרְבְּעָה *four*, Šebu. 42 *a*; בֵּי חַמְשָׁה *five*, Yeb. 101 *b*; בֵּי עַשְׂרָה *ten*, Er. 30 *a*, Sôtā 38 *b*; בֵּי עַשְׂרִין וּתְלָתָא *twenty-three*, Sanh. 8 *a*; בֵּי מְאָה *a hundred*, Ber. 50 *a*, Yeb. 88 *a*.[1]

§ 144. תְּרֵי *two* takes pronominal suffixes to express determination, in which case it expands its form to תַּרְוֵי.[2] Thus, תַּרְוֵיהֶן *we both*, Šebu. 37 *b*; תַּרְוֵיכוּ *you both*, B. Q. 60 *b*; תַּרְוֵיהוֹן *they both*, Keth. 83 *b*; תַּרְוֵיהוּ Ḥull. 45 *b*; תַּרְוֵיהִי Col. MS., M. Q. 31 *a*.[3]

§ 145. Luzzatto's remark (*op. cit.* § 63), that the compound numbers in סְרֵי are of rare occurrence, I cannot confirm. They occur as frequently as those in סַר, if not oftener. It must, however, be noticed that the masculine and feminine forms are sometimes used promiscuously. Whether such a confusion in the use of the genders is original, or is only due to later copyists, is, on account of the lack of ancient MSS., hard to decide.

§ 146. Now and then we meet with numerals taken from other languages. They are used in homiletical etymologies and as illustrations of special points in Halacha. Thus, Ber. 56 *b*, the name Cappadocia is explained כַּפָּא כְּשׁוֹרָא דִּיקָא עַשְׂרָה. "Kappa" means *beam*, "dika" means *ten* (δέκα). Er. 18 *a* דִּיו (δύο) *two*, *twice*. Naz. 8 *b* סוּמְכוֹס אוֹמֵר הֵן אֶחָת דִּיגוֹן שְׁתַּיִם טְרִיגוֹן שָׁלוֹשׁ טֶטְרָגוֹן אַרְבַּע פּוּנְטִיגוֹן חָמֵשׁ *Symmachos says: ἕν means one*, *δίγονος two*, *τρίγωνος three*, *τετραγώνιον four*, *πεντάγωνος five* (fold). B. B. 164 *b* הֵינָא, *ἕνα*, *one*. M. Q. 28 *a* ʿÊn Yaʿaḳōb ed. princ. אִינָא id. ʿAr. Sanh. 89 *a* the Persian numeral هَزَار *1000*, occurs in the Persian phrase כַּאר הֵזָר גּוּנָא *an ass of a thousand colors*.

B. Ordinals.—§ 147. Sing. masc. קַמָּאָה, קַמָּאָה, קַדְמָאָה (Ned. 40 *a*, 51 *a*); fem. קַמָּיְיתָא, קַדְמָיְיתָא; plur. masc. קַמָּאֵי, fem. קַמָּיְיתָא, קַדְמָיְיתָא *first*.

[1] In later literature: בְּתַרֵי *HG.* 364, 489; בַּיתְלָתָא *ibid.* 62, 65; בַּתְלָתָא *ibid.* 489, 490; בְּתַלְתָּא, בְּיַארְבָּעָה *ibid.* 501.

[2] *Cf.* Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 4.

[3] In later literature: תַּרְוַיהוּ *HG.* 282; תְּלָתֵיהוֹן, תְּלָתֵינְהוּ *they three*, *ibid.* 61; אַרְבָּעֲתֵיהוּ *they four*, *ibid.* 398. For the דגש in these forms, *cf.* Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, § 49, and Kautzsch, *Gram. d. Bibl.-Aram.*, § 65, 1, n. 1.

§ 148. Sing. masc. תִּנְיָן, תִּנְיָנָא (Ned. 21 *a*, 63 *a*), תִּנְיָנְתָא ('Ar. Gitt. 6 *a*), *second;* תְּלִיתָאי, תְּלִיתָאָה *third;* רְבִיעָאָה *fourth;* שְׁבִיעָאָה *seventh*, Nidd. 67 *b;* עֲשִׂירָאָה *tenth.* Plur. fem. רְבִיעָיְיתָה *fourth.*[1]

§ 149. The expression קַמָּא קַמָּא (Gitt. 12 *b*, B. B. 97 *a*, Pes. 7 *a*) corresponds to the later Hebrew רִאשׁוֹן רִאשׁוֹן, meaning *by and by, by degrees, gradually, successively.* Plur. masc. קַמָּאֵי קַמָּאֵי, Pes. 7 *a.*[2]

§ 150. Sabb. 31 *b*, 88 *a*, Ar. 13 *a*, תְּלִיתָאי is used in the sense of *triple.*

§ 151. *a.* Like the ordinals are used a number of other numeral adjectives:—Sing. masc. אָחֳרִינָא *another;* אוּחֳרִינָא, Col. MS. Pes.; אוּחְרָנָא *TF.*, p. 11; fem. אָחֳרִיתָי, אַחְרִיתָי, אַחְרִינְתָא (R. H. 18 *b*), אַחְרִנְיָיתָא, אָחֳרִינְיָיתָא (Yeb. 64 *b*) אוּחְרִיתָי (Col. MS. Pes.), אוּחֳרִי (Qid. 47 *a*, B. M. 15 *a*, a. e.).—Plur. masc. אָחֳרִינֵי, אוּחֳרִינֵי (Col. MS. Pes.) אַחְרִנֵי, *TF.*, p. 12, אוּחְרָנֵי, *ibid.* 17; fem. אַחְרִנְיָיתָא (Ned. 20 *b*, 22 *a*).

b. Sing. masc. בָּתְרָאָה, בָּתְרָאי; fem. בָּתְרִיתָא, בָּתְרִייתָא; plur. masc. בָּתְרָאֵי; fem. בָּתְרִייתָא *the last, the latter.*—תְּרֵי כָּסֵי בָּתְרָאֵי *the last two cups*, Pes. 108 *b;* לְבָתְרָאֵי דְּאִתּוֹ בָּתְרָךְ *to my successors* (descendants) *who are to come after thee*, A. Z. 10 *b.*

C. Fractional Numbers.—§ 152. Fractional numbers are expressed partly by separate nominal formations, partly by various constructions of the cardinals. The separate formations are: פַּלְגָּא, פַּלְגוּ, פַּלְגֵי (B. M. 77 *a*) ½; תּוּלְתָּא, תִּילְתָּא, תַּלְתָּאי (Sabb. 87 *a*, ed. Sonc.) ⅓; רִיבְעָא ¼; חוּמְשָׁא ⅕; שְׁתִיתָא, שְׁתוּתָא ⅙.

§ 153. תַּלְתָּא חוּמְשֵׁי ⅗, Sukk. 32 *b;* תַּלְתָּא פַּלְגֵי ⅔, Sabb. 34 *b;* תַּלְתָּא רִיבְעֵי ¾ *ibid.;* תַּלְתֵּי תַּלְתֵּי ⅔, תְּרֵי תַּלְתֵּי ⅔, *ibid.* 35 *a;* חוּמְשִׁין *fifths*, Tem. 27 *a;* פַּלְגֵּיהוֹן *the half of them*, B. B. 8 *a.*[3]

§ 154. In Syriac a difference of spelling exists in the word ܬܠܬܝܢ, the second ܬ being spirantic when it means *three years*

[1] In later literature: Sing. fem. תִּנְיָנְתָא, *HG.* 250; תִּנְיָרְתָא, *MV.* 101; תְּלִיתָיְתָא *HG.* 250; רְבִיעָיְתָא, רְבִיעָיְיתָא *MV.* 101; חֲמִשָּׁיְתָא *HG.* 379; עֲשִׂירָיְתָא *ibid.*—Masc. חֲמִשָּׁאָה *ibid.* 618; שְׁתִיתָאָה *ibid.;* תְּמִינָאָה *ibid.;* תְּמַנְיָנָאָה *ibid.* 620. The *ninth* must have been תְּשִׁיעָאָה*, תְּשִׁיעָיְתָא*.

[2] *Cf.* Luzzatto, *op. cit.*, § 64, and Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

[3] In later literature: תַּרְתָּא ½, *HG.* 127; חוּמְשָׁה ⅕, *ibid.* 487.

old.[1] The same distinction may have obtained in our idiom; we should, therefore, have to read תלתא in the expression עֶגְלָא תְלָתָא with the second ת spirantic.

§ 155. The forms שְׁתִיתָא, שְׁתוּתָא come *per metathesin* from שְׁתִיתָא, שְׁוּתָתָא, formations like תְּלִיתָא, תּוּלְתָא. They were transposed to avoid their interchange with שְׁתָּא *six*, and שְׁוָתָא *web, network*, forms to which, in accordance with the genius of the language, they must have been ultimately reduced. It must be added that שְׁתִיתָא, שְׁתוּתָא are as little ordinals as the other forms given in this paragraph, and the assertion of the dictionaries to the contrary must be corrected.

D. Other Denumerative Nouns.—§ 156. יְחִידָאָה, plur. יְחִידָאֵי *single, unique;* רְבִיעָאָה *quart* (of a לוג), Er. 64 *a*, a. e., fem. רְבִיעָתָא, plur. fem. רְבִיעָיְיתָא, רְבִיעָאתָא, Col. MS., Pes. 109 *b;* רְבוּעָא *a square;* רִיבְעָא name of a small Persian weight—Gitt. 22 *a;* חוּמְשָׁא, plur. חוּמְשִׁין *one of the five books of the Pentateuch or of the Psalms;* later *the Pentateuch;* חוּמְשִׁייתָא *fifths, pentads;* תּוֹמָן, תּוֹמַנְתָּא, תִּימַנְיָתָא, תְּמַנְיָתָא, תְּמַנְתָּא, תּוֹמְנִיתָא, *thōmān*, a measure containing the eighth part of a קַב; plur. תּוֹמְנִיָּתָא; עְשׁוּרָא *the giving of tithes*; plur. עְשׁוּרְיָתָא *tithes, decades.* Here belongs also the pronoun חֲדָדֵי *one another*, a contraction of חֲדָא חֲדָא, with the plur. masc. ending,[2] and מְאָתָא, מָתָא, *city*, from מְאָה *hundred;* properly *a hundred tents* or *houses.*[3]

ADVERBS AND ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS.

Adverbs of Place.—§ 157. בֵּינֵי בֵּינֵי *among others.*—בַּר, בָּרָאי, אַבְרָאי (§ 91), מִבָּרָאי, מִבָּרָא, מֵאַבְרָאי, *outside, from outside.*—אַגַּבָּא דְּ- *on top of.*—גַּבֵּי חֲדָדֵי, כְּחֲדָדֵי, *together.*—בְּגַוָּא, בְּגַו, בַּאו, בְּגַוֵּי, בְּגַוָּאי, גַּוָּאי (§ 91) *inside, amid.*—מִלְּגַו *inclusive*, opposed to מִלְּבַר *exclusive.*—בְּגוֹ *therein.*—הָכָא, הָא[4] הָכִי (Col. MS., Meg. 9 *b*) *here, in the case before us.*—הֵיכָא, הֵיכִי (Ar. 30 *a*), הֵי (Col. MS., Zeb. 111 *b*) *where;* מֵהֵיכָא, מֵהֵי, *whence;* לְהֵיכָא *whither;* אַהֵיכָא *whereupon.* כָּל אֵיכָא, כָּל הֵיכָא דְּ-

[1] Noeldeke, *SG.*, p. 89.

[2] חֲדָדָן *one another* (fem.), *HG.*, ed. princ. 82 *b.*

[3] *Cf.* Maclean, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[4] On the various constructions of הָכָא, see Zunz, *Das Adverbium* כַּאן, *ZDMG.* XXIV., pp. 591–598, reprinted in Vol. III. of his *Ges. Schriften.*

דְּ (Col. MS., Pes. 96 *a*) *wherever, in all cases where.*—בַּחֲרִיק *instead.*—הָתָם *there, in that case.* תָּם, תַּמָּן *there.*—לְעֵילָא, לְעֵיל, מֵעֵילָא, מֵעֵיל, *above, upward, on top, supra.*—לְקַמָּן *beneath, below, ahead, further, infra.*—מִילְּרַע (Sabb. 92 *a*), מִלְּתַחַת (Bekh. 8 *b*), לְתוֹתָא (M. MS., Bêçā 15 *a*), לְתַתָּא (B. B. 45 *a*), לְתַחְתָּאָה (B. Q. 23 *b*), מִתַּתָּאי *beneath, underneath, down, below* (§§ 82, 158).[1]

§ 158. With the forms in ־אָי, ־אָה, some such word as צְדָדָא is to be understood. On לְעֵילָא, לְתַחְתָּא, see above, § 82. The א in אַבְרָאי, אַגְוָאי is prothetic. הָכָא, הָתָם are compounds of הָא and תָּם, Hebr. שָׁם, and כָּא, Hebr. כֹּה, respectively. In תַּמָּן and לְקַמָּן (=ל+קדם+ן) we have the demonstrative element ־ָן. The reading of the latter לְקַמָּן and not with Levy לְקָמָן is warranted by tradition, supported by the vocalization of the Col. MSS., and has its analogies in our idiom. In אַגַּבָּא we have a compound of אַ(=על) and גַּבָּא; הֵיכָא, אֵיכָא consist of כָּא and הֵי, אֵי respectively. In מִתַּתָּאי (=מִן+תַּחְתָּאָה) and לְתוֹתָא (=לְ+תַּחְתָּא) we have syncope of ח.

Adverbs of Time.—§ 159. אַדְּ Col. MS. אַדְּ, אִידְּ, *while, when, when not yet.*—אַדְּהָכִי וְהָכִי, אַדְּהָכִי (Col. MS., Meg. 16 *a* vocalizes אִדְּהָכִי וְהָכִי), *meanwhile, in the meantime.* הַאִידָּנָא, הַאִידָּנָא (=הָא+עִדָּנָא), *now, this time, nowadays.* אִימַת (Col. MS., Meg. 12 *a* vocalizes אִימָת), *when.*—כָּל אִימַת *whenever, as long as, as often as.*—אִפְּתִי, אִפְּתִי, אִיפְּתִי (Col. MS.) *still, yet, even now.*—מִן לְאַלְתַּר, מֵאַלְתַּר (Ned. 4 *b*, Rashi, *ibid.*, has מִן אַלְתַּר), מִן לְאַלְתַּר (Ned. 27 *b*) *on the spot, at once.*[2]—אֶשְׁתַּקַד (=שַׁתָּא קַדְמִיתָא + prothetic א) *last year.*—לְבַתַר, לְאַחַר, *after, later on.*—בֵּינֵי בֵינֵי *in the meanwhile.*—דְּיַעֲבַד, דְּיָאֲבַד, דְּיָאֲבָא (Col. MS., Zeb. 32 *a*, with apocope of ד and change of ע to א), lit. *when it was done, ex post facto.*—הָשְׁתָּא *already, since.*—הַשְׁתָּא *now, at present.*—זִימְנִין *sometimes.*—אִיתְמַל *yesterday.*—לְיוֹמְחָרָא (Col. MS., Zeb. 84 *a*), לְיוֹמָא חָרָא (B. M. 17 *a*), לְיוֹמָא אוֹחְרָא (*ibid.* H. MS.), לְיוֹמָא אָחֳרִינָא (*ibid.* ed. Ven.), לְיוֹמָא אַחֲרִינָא (*ibid.* F. MS.), *after-to-morrow.*—כַּד, כִּי, *when.*—כַּהוּ *now; when he.*—מִכִּי *since, as*

[1] הֵיכָא *here, HG.* 477 (*bis*); אַרְכָא *where, ibid.* 63, 69, a. e.; לְתַחְתָּא, *ibid.* 315.

[2] The statement of the dictionaries that אַלְתַּר occurs only with ל is to be corrected accordingly.

כּוֹל כְּמָה, כָּל כְּמָה דְּ־ *soon as.*—כְּמָה דְּ־ (Yômâ 13*a*, Sabb. 119*a*), דְּ־ (Col. MS., Zeb. 6*a*) *until, as long as.*—לְמָחָר *to-morrow.*—לַעֲגַל, בַּעֲגַל, *soon.*—עַד דְּ־, בְּהַדֵי דְּ־ *during, while, meanwhile, before, when not yet.*—לְעָלַם (Gitt. 85*b*, legal style) *forever.*—מִן קַדְמֵית דְּנָא, מִקַּדְמַת דְּנָא *at first, from the start.*—מֵעִיקָּרָא (legal style), *formerly.*—בְּרֵישָׁא *at first, at the beginning.*—מֵרֵישׁ *at first, heretofore.*—תּוּ, תּוּב *again, anew, moreover, yet more, further, besides.*[1]

Adverbs of Manner.—§ 160. אִיבְּרָא *verily, indeed.*—אַדְּרַבָּה [=אַ׳(=עַל)+דְּ+רַבָּה] (turn to *the stronger* side. I rest my argument *upon what is superior;* on the other side *is a stronger* claim) *on the contrary.*—אַגַּב אוֹרְחָא *by the way, apropos.*—אַגַּב גְּרָרָא *incidentally, occasionally.*—אוּתְיוֹס, אוּתְיוֹסּ (εὐθέως) *quickly, rapidly, soon.*—דְּאִי *in case when.*—בַּאֲלַכְסוֹנָא *crosswise.* גּוּנְדִּלִית *bustrophedon;* בְּהַדְיָא, לְהַדְיָא *openly, explicitly.*—הָדַר *again,* הָכִי, הָכֵין (*TF.* 2, 14*a* and frequently), הָכָא (Col. MS., Pes. 110*a*), *so, thus.*—וַדַּאי *expressly, distinctly, only.*—[יָאלֵי, וָאלֵי (Ber. 5*b*) *certainly, surely, rightly, with good reason.*—יָאוּת, טָבִית, מוּטָב, *well.*—כְּדֵי *for nought, in vain, for no purpose.*[2]—לְחוֹדָאי, לְחוֹדָא (B. Q. 38*a*), בְּאַנְפֵי נַפְשָׁא, בְּאַפֵי נַפְשָׁא, *separately, alone, for oneself.*—לְכַאוֹרָה *at first sight, apparently.*—כִּלְפֵי אַלְיָא, כִּלְפֵי לֵיָיא, כִּלְפֵי לֵיד, כִּלְפֵי לֵיָיא (MSS. K., M., Zeb. 82*a*) *just the reverse.*—מַגָּן *gratis.*—מֵעַיְלָא, Col. MS., Pes. (voc.), מִמֵּילָא (§§ 77, 90) *of itself.*—הָנֵיחָא, תִּינָח, בְּשִׁלְמָא, הִשְׁלָמָא (Col. MS., Meg. 2*b*), *granted it is right, it would be right.*—סְחוֹר *round about.*—מִסְתַּמָא (§ 23) *presumably, probably, I dare say.*—בְּעַלְמָא *plainly, simply, merely, only.*—אַפַּרְקִיד *supinely.*—קָא, קָאַ, קָ, a particle used generally with the participle to form the present (§ 66).—שַׁפִּיר *well.*[3]

§ 161. הָנֵיחָא is formed of הָא *this,* and of the passive participle of נוּחַ; תִּינָח, of תְּהֵי *let it be,* and the active participle of

[1] In later literature: הַדְּהָכִי וְהָכִי, *HG.* 100; כָּל חֵיכִי (=כל אימת), *ibid.* 164; אַקַּתֵּי, *ibid.* 456; לְרַבְּתַר, *ibid.* 63; כְּלַעַן (legal style) *ibid.* 315; דְּיָאבָא, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 181.

[2] According to some כְּדֵי is a shortened form of כְּדֵיבְ; according to Luzzatto (פניני שד׳ל, p. 305 *sq.*) it is a contraction of כְּ + דְּ + הֵיא *as it is.*

[3] In later literature: בְּרַם *verily, indeed,* Še'ĕl. 1; הָכֵין *thus, so, HG.* 86, 103; בְּחוֹד, *HG.* 29; לְחָדָא *separately, MV.* 32; כַּחֲדָא *together, ibid.*; זוֹד *more, TG.*, ed. Harkavy, *passim; cf.* for the latter Noeldeke, *NSG.* 159. לַאוּקָא (=לַאו קָא) *HG.* 403.

said verb; it occurs also in the form הָתִינָח. The above and בְּשִׁלְמָא are synonymous. The latter is used in reference to a superior sort of authority (*e. g.* of Scripture) as compared with that indicated by the use of the former. Note the expression בַּר הָכִי *such a one, such a fellow.*

Adverbs of Quantity.—§ 162. אִינְגַּד (Gittin, 58 *a*) according to Rašî, *ad. loc.*=בְּצִיר *a little.*—טַב, טוּבָא *a good deal, much.*—לְגַמְרֵי *entirely.*—טְפֵי, טַפְיָא, סְרִיחַ, *more.*—יְתִיר, בִּיתִירְתָּא *more, greatly.*—כָּל הָכִי, כּוּלֵי הַאי (lit. *all this*) *so much!*—כָּל כְּמָה דְּ־, כָּל כַּמָּאי דְּ־ (Col. MS., M. Q. 6 *a*), *as much as.*—כַּמָּה *how much, how many!* . . . . טְפֵי . . . . כַּמָּה דְּ *the more . . . . the more:* R. H. 26 *b*, כַּמָּה דְּכָיְיתָ אִינִישׁ דַּעְתֵּיהּ טְפֵי מִיעֲלֵי *the more one bends his mind the better it is.*—כָּל דְּהוּ *the least possible quantity, whatsoever.*—כְּמָה דְּאֶפְשָׁר *as much as possible.*—פּוּרְתָּא *a little, a trifle.*—קְלִילָ, קַלֵּי *a little.*—רַבָּא *much, very much.*

Interrogative Adverbs.—§ 163. אֵימַת, אִימַת (Col. MS.) *when?*—אֵינִי *is it really so?*—אַהֵיהָא *to which does this refer?*—לְאֵי *for what purpose?*—לְאֵיהָא, (לְאֵי+הָא) *whither?* (*TF.*, p. 26).—הֵיכָא,[1] הֵי (Col. MS.), *where?*—לְהֵיכָא *whither?*—הֵי כוּ (MS., Vat. 117, B. M. 67 *b*), הֵיכִי, *how?*—אֵיתוּ, מֵיהַדֵּי,[2] מִיפַּדֵּי, (in questions expressing surprise or indignation) *do you mean to say? is it because? how!? what!?*—אִי (Ned. 3 *a*), מִי, וּמִי, וְכִי, *num?* מִי לָא *nonne?*—לְמָה, לְמָא, אַלְמָה, אַמַּאי, *why, wherefore?*—לַאי, לְאֵי, לֵי, a particle of doubtful character. See Kohut, *Aruch. Compl.* s. v.

§ 164. On the punctuation of מָנָא see above (§ 90). It is the apocopated form of מִנָּאן, which latter is a compound of מִן+אָן. It is joined to the following word, forming a compound. Thus, מִנָּלָן *whence have we this?* מִנָּלֵיהּ (Zeb. 8 *b*, Naz. 48 *b*, a. e.) *whence has he this?* מִנַּהֵנֵי מִילֵי, מִנַּהֲנֵי מִילֵי (Col. MSS.) *whence have you these things?*

§ 165. כִּי and מִי are generally preceded by a ו. The former introduces nominal sentences, the latter verbal. מִי, or וּמִי, usually stands immediately before the verb. If the verb be preceded by a negative, מִי is often inserted between the negative

[1] אַרְכָא, *HG.* 63, 69.
[2] *Cf.* Stübe, *Jüd. babyl. Zaubertexte*, p. 56.

and the verb.[1] לָא מֵי (Sabb. 68 *b*), לַאו מֵי (Pes. 102 *a;* M. MS., Er. 20 *b;* Sabb. 32 *a;* B. M. 32 *a*, a. e.).

§ 166. Note the following idiomatic expression: . . . . מַיאי לַאו . . . . לָא *couldn't we understand by it rather this? . . . . No! it is rather.*—אֵימַת, הֵיכָא, הֵיכִי, and הֵי, are used also as relative adverbs. Some of the adverbs given here have at times the force of interrogative conjunctions and should more properly be called interrogative particles.

Affirmative Adverbs.—§ 167. אִית, אִיתָא,[2] אִיכָּא (=אִית+כָּא) *there is;* אִין, אִן (so Col. MSS.) *yes,* (=Hebrew הֵן). In one instance אִית takes verbal form: אִיתוּ אֲנַן *we are,* Pes. 50 *a*. *Cf.* II. Targûm to Esther 2, 18 אִיתֵיהּ *they are.*

Negative Adverbs.—§ 168. לֵית (=לָא + אִית), לֵיתָא, *there is not, is not;* לֵיכָּא (=לֵית+כָּא) id.; לָא, לַאו (לָא + הַוְיָא) *is not, not, no.* לָא is generally used with verbs, לַאו with nouns.

Adverbs of Doubt.—§ 169. דִילְמָא, דִילְמָּא (דְ + ל + מָא) *cf.* Hebrew שַׁלְמָה, later שֶׁמָּא) *perhaps;* אֶפְשָׁר, Col. MS., vocal. אִפְשַׁר *perhaps, it may be, possibly.*

PREPOSITIONS.

A. Inseparable Prepositions.—§ 170. אַ־ is an abbreviation of עַל = אַל and is used in all the significations and constructions of the latter. It is used also before gutturals: Men. 34 *a*, אַאַבְנָא, Keth. 40 *b*, a. e. אַהָא.—Notice the force of the preposition after הֲוָה *to become, happen, befall,* in the standing phrase מִידֵּי דַהֲוָה אַ־, lit. *something that happened with . . . . , this is something like . . . .* The expression is used to introduce an analogical case as an illustration to a previous statement of opinion on some legal point under discussion.

§ 171. בְּ־, בַּ־, בִּ־, בֵּ־, בֶּ־, is used as in the Targumîm and Hebrew. A few examples of some rare usages may be mentioned. רֵישׁ מֵיעַיָּא בְּאַמְּתָא בְּעֵי גְּרִירָה *the top of the small intestines must be scraped up to a cubit's length,* Ḥull, 93 *a;* רַב בְּבָהֲנֵי קָרֵי *Rabh read as a priest,* Meg. 22 *a, i. e.,* was called up the first to read the weekly lesson from the Pentateuch. וְאִינְהוּ בְּשַׁפִּירֵי שַׁפִּירֵי בְנֵי מָחוֹזָא *and yet these are the most beautiful of the people*

[1] The verb in this case includes the participle, but not the infinitive.

[2] In לֵיתָא, אִיתָא the ending may be = הָה, but *cf.* Noeldeke, *MG.*, § 213.

of Māḥôzâ, R. H. 17 *a*. וּנְפַל בִּתְרֵין *and he dropped torn in two.* בִּתְלָתָא, בִּעֲשָׂרָא, *in the presence of three, of ten*, Ber. 56 *b*, fr. *Cf.* also below (§ 174). The ב is found in the Talmud also in a separate form "בְּרִ."

§ 172. כְּ, כַּ, כִּ, *like.*—לְ, לָ, לַ, *to, unto;* generally *nota accusativi.*—מִ, מֵ, *from.*

§ 173. To the Palestinean R. Jôḥānān we owe the single example of the use of ל with oaths as a particle of asseveration, as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Assyrian.[1]

Separate Prepositions.—§ 174. אֲבִי (§ 28) *upon, on.* אֲבִי כּוּרְסְיָא *upon a chair;* אֲבִי יְדֵיהוֹן *upon their hands*, Sanh. 17 *a*.[2] אַבַּתְרֵי (= אַל + בַּתְרֵי), *cf.* בָּתַר.

אַגַּב (= אַל + גַּב) *on, upon; by dint of, by the way of, on account of.*

אֲחוֹרֵי *behind, backward.*

אָטוּ *on account of, for the sake of.* The word is connected with Fellîḥî-Syriac ܐܸܛ, ܐܸܛܰܝ, ܐܸܛܘ̈ܗܝ, ܐܸܛ, and ܐܺܝܟ of other Syriac dialects.[3]

אִידֵי, אִידֵּי, אַיְדָא (A. Z. 15 *a;* Col. MS., Zeb. 35 *b*), *by means of, through, by the way of. Cf.* Hebrew עַל יַד.

אַמְטוּ, (אַמְטֵי, אַמְטוּלְתָּא, אַמְטוּלְתָּא, *for the sake of, on account of.* The word is of doubtful etymology. The original form was evidently אַמְטוּל, a compound of עַל + מִן + טוּל, which former may mean *shade, protection, burden*, or *going, passing; cf.* the Hebrew בְּגָלַל, בַּעֲבוּר. In the expression אַמְטוּל הָכֵי the final ל of אַמְטוּל is often attached to הָכֵי and written אַמְטוּ לְהָכֵי. (M. V. 6 has אַמְטֵי לְהָכֵי).[4]

אַפֵּי, אַנְפֵּי, only with the prepositions ל and ב: לְאַפֵּי *toward, opposite;* בְּאַפֵּי *in the presence of, before.*

[1] Yômâ 84 *a*, A. Z. 28 *a*, we are told how a woman did not wish to tell R. Jôḥānān the formula of a medicine, unless he swore not to disclose it to others. He agreed to it and swore: לַאלָהָא דְיִשְׂרָאֵל לָא מְגַלֵּינָא *by the God of Israel, I shall not disclose it!* He then went and gave away the secret to his audience in a lecture at college. When asked how he could break his oath, he answered: "I said 'To THE GOD of Israel I shall not disclose it;' but not TO THE PEOPLE of Israel." He thus explained the ל casuistically as a mere *nota dativi.*

[2] אֲבִי in אֲבִי חַדְרִיהוֹ *upon their bosom*, Sanh. 17 *a* is a compound of אַל *upon* and בִּרְתָּ = בַּיִת. In later literature: כִּי הֲוִינָן אֲבִי מָר *when we were at our lord's* (at the house) Se'el. 77.

[3] *Cf.* Sachau, *Skizze des Fellichi-Dialekts von Mosul*, p. 32, 37, 39. Maclean, *op. cit.* 187.

[4] *Cf.* פניני שד"ל, p. 308 *sq.* But *cf.* אַמְטוּ חָכִי *TF.* 2. בְּגִין, *Respons. d. Lehrer d. Ost. u. Westens*, ed. Müller, § 122.

בְּדִיל *on account of.* Only Yômâ, 75 *b.*

בִּי *within, in, by,* etc., is the separate form of the preposition בְּ.[1] The traditional pronunciation of it as בֵּי is due to a confusion with בֵּי *between, house.*

בֵּי, בֵּין, בֵּינֵי, בֵּינַיָּא, בֵּינָתָא, בְּנָתָא, *between, among.* Keth. 28 *a*, M. MS., Sabb. 110 *a*, בֵּינָתַיְיהוּ; (H. G. 339 בֵּינָתַיְיהוּ, בְּנָתַיְיהוּ). Notice: בֵּקָארֵי, בֵּבוּצִינֵי, Col. MS., Meg. 12 *a b* (voc.).

בְּלָא, בְּלָאו, *without.*

לְבַר מִן, לְבַר מִ־, *except, save, besides.*

בָּתַר, בָּאתַר, לְבָתַר, *after, behind.*

גַּבֵּי, לְגַבֵּי, *near, at, to, with, in case of, toward.*

גַּו, גַּוָּא, גַּאו, גֵּיו, גֵּו, constr. st. גּוֹ, גּוֹא, generally with ל, ב and מ: לְגוֹ, לְגַו, *into, amidst;* בְּגוֹ *in, within, amongst, amidst;* מִגּוֹ *from, out.*

דּוּמְיָא דִּ־ *like, similar, analogous to.*

הֲדֵי, only with ב or ל: בַּהֲדֵי *with, by;* לַהֲדֵי *unto, to toward.* The singular form occurs but seldom: לַהֲדָא, A. Z. 28 *b.*

חֲלַף *instead, in place of.*

יָת *nota accusativi.* This is very rare in the Babylonian Talmud. יָתֵיהּ *him*, Ned. 49 *a;* יָתַהּ *her, it*, eds. Ned. 50 *b;* יָתְכוֹן *you*, Ber. 38 *a;* יָתַיְכוּ Nidd. 61 *a;* יָתְהוֹן *them*, Ned. 25 *a*, 41 *a*, B. M. 90 *b*, a. e.[2]

כְּוָת *like;* כְּוָתִי דִּידִי *like me*, Col. MS., M. Q. 2 *b;* כְּוָת *like me*, *ibid.* Pes. 105 *b* (§ 110); כְּוָתִין *like us*, B. B. 65 *a.*

כְּדִ,[3] כְּד (= כ + ד) *like.* כְּדִ הַשְׁתָּא *now* (Sabb. 119 *a*) = Hebr כַּעֵת. כַּד כַּלְבָּא—כְּעֵת *like that of a dog*, ed. Const. Sanh. 96 *a.*

כְּגוֹן (= כ + גון =) *like, similar to, for example.*

[1] M. Lambert, *RÉJ.* XXII., 129–131 finds this form of the preposition also in Biblical Hebrew.

[2] In later literature the older form יָתִיכִי has been preserved: יָתִיכִי *thee* (f.) *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 15. *Cf.* also Noeldeke, *SG.*, 199, note 1, and Lagarde, *Mittheil*, I., 226. I. H. Weiss (*Zur Gesch. d. jüd. Trad.*, II., 138, note 1), justly observes that the fact that the Biblical Aramaic never uses יָת as *nota accusativi* except once with a pronominal suffix (Dan. 3, 12) would go to prove that the use of this particle is a Hebraism with Onkelos—and, we may add, with all other Aramaic languages where its use is found—who intended to give by its adoption a basis for the exercise of R. Akiba's hermeneutic rule that every *nota accusativi* implies an inclusion of some additional case, identifying, of course, יָת with אֵת. The entire want of this particle in the Mandaic—an idiom outside of the sphere of Jewish influences—is the best proof of Mr. Weiss' supposition.

[3] Some scholars see the same use of כְּ also in Biblical Hebrew. *Cf.* Dubsewitz, *Ha-Bôker 'Ôr*, V. 265–272, and M. Lambert, *RÉJ.* XXII., 129–131.

כְּלַפֵּי (=כְּ+לְ+אַפֵּי) *toward, in the direction of, with regard to.*

לְוָת *to, unto.* M. Q. 9 *b*, לְוָתִיךְ *to thee.* B. M. 62 *b*, לְוָתִי *to me.* Very rare.

לְפוּם (Hebrew לְפִי) *according to.* Palestinean מִחְמַת *in consequence of, through.*

מִן, מִי (M. MS., Men. 65 *a*), *from, out, of.*

מִשּׁוּם *because of, on account of.*

נִיהַלָּה *to, unto.*

עַד *until, till.* עַד דְּ־ *instead of.* Usually contracted to אַדְּ־.

עַל *on, upon.*

עַל יְדָא *through, by means of* (Ar. 16 *b*).

עִילָּא, עִלָּא, *on, upon.*

עִלְּוֵי *on, upon,* Ḥull. 8 *b*, Sabb. 156 *b*, a. e. (§§ 41, 181).

לְעֵילָּא מִן *above, beyond, higher than, before* (Sabb. 30 *a*, Rašī, a. e.).

עִם *with.* In the Talmud the word is used only in legal style; but it is found frequently in Še'ēl. and Hal. Ged.

לְקִיבְלָא, *opposite, against, before.* B. B. 111 *a;* Tam. 32 *a.* (Palestinean.)

מִן קֳדָם, לְקֳדָם, *before.* Sabb. 30 *b;* 67 *a;* Gitt. 85 *b.* (Palestinean.)

קָמָא, קַמֵּי, לְקַמֵּי, מִקַּמֵּי, *before, in the presence of, for.* Ar. 31 *b*, מִקָּמָא דִּידָךְ *before thee.*[1] The word is generally used as an expression of politeness before names of persons in authority.

תְּחוֹתֵי, תּוֹתֵי, *beneath, below, under; instead, in place of* (A. Z. 10 *a*).

§ 175. בֵּין . . . . . בֵּין means: *both this and that.* בֵּין לְמָר בֵּין לְמָר *according to the opinion of the one* as well as to *that of the other.*

§ 176. מִן is of rare use, and almost entirely limited to the pronominal suffixes, the apocopated form being used before nouns, Note the expressions מִינֵּיהּ מִינֵּיהּ *out of it, yea, of it, i. e.*, of the very thing.—מִינֵּיהּ וּבֵיהּ, the same.—לַאו כָּל כְּמִינֵּיהּ *he is not able.* The expression is probably originally an ironical question, *Is everything so as if coming from him, by his authority?*

[1] Še'ēl. מִקְּמַיְרֵיהוּ *from before them.* H. G. 100), לְקַמָּהּ *for her; ibid.* 387, קַמֵּי פַּלְגָּא *for a half.*

§ 177. *a*) The preposition ל having become particularly identified with the accusative, the want was felt of a definite and distinct *nota dativi*. By adding to the ל a demonstrative of determinate distance, הָלְאָה, that want was supplied: the simple, worn-out ל now became לַהֲלָאָה or לְיַהֲלָאָה. The concurrence of two ל's caused the first to dissimilate and become נ. We thus get נַהֲלָאָה or נְיַהֲלָאָה.

b) The dictionaries derive our word from ל+נְיָהוּ; but it must be evident that such a presumption is untenable, since the verbal force inherent in it is neither relevant nor apparent in the dative personal pronoun. Luzzatto's etymology of ל+נְיָהַ is subject to the same objection: נְיָהַ would evidently be akin to Ethiopic nāhū, Hebrew הִנֵּה, which has also verbal force and can govern only the accusative. Nöldeke connects it with the verb נהל *to lead* in Assyrian and Hebrew, and vocalizes נְהָלֵי with plural termination.

c) נַהֲלָאָה is used as accusative in נְיַסְיֵהּ נְיַהֲלָאָה *try it*, A. Z. 15 *a*, and פְּרִיקְנָן לָהּ נְיַהֲלָאָה *we redeem her*, Gitt. 38 *a*.

d) נְיַהֲלָאָה and לָוֹת are used only with reference to men.

§ 178. Traces of a separate form "לִי" are found in the scholastic term וְלִיטַעְמִיךְ *and according to the reason given by thee*, Ned. 37 *a* and frequently, and in לִידְהוּ, לִידְהִי, *to them*, Col. MS., Pes. 116 *b* and elsewhere.

PREPOSITIONS WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.[1]

§ 179. A number of prepositions are generally used with suffixes; some of them even exclusively so. Of the inseparable prepositions only two, ב and ל, take pronominal suffixes.[1] Of the separate forms, אַבְתַּר, אַחֲוֵי, אַנְפֵּי, אַפֵּי, בֵּין, בָּתַר, גַּבֵּי, גַּו, דַּדֵּי, יָת, כְּוָת, לָוֹת, מִן, עַל, עִלָּא, עִם, קָבֵל, קֳדָם, קִיבְלָא, תְּחוֹתֵי, תַּחְוֹתֵי, are *generally* used with pronominal suffixes; אַמְטוּלְתָּא, בֵּינָתָא, נְיַהֲלָאָה are found *only* with suffixes; the rest of the list are *never* found with suffixes.

§ 180. ב: בִּי, בָּךְ, בִּיךְ, בֵּיהּ, בֵּיהּ, בְּהִי (Col. MS., M. Q. 18 *a*), בָּהּ, בָּן, בְּכוּ, בְּהוֹן, בְּהוּ, בְּהֵן, בְּהֵי, בְּהִי.—ל: לִי, לָךְ, לִיכִי (Keth. 52 *b*, Ned. 50 *b*, a. e., legal style), לֵיהּ, לְהוּ (R. H. 5 *a*, Sabb.

[1] On the plural form of some prepositions *cf.* Lagarde, *Mittheil.*, I., 231 *sq.*

140 *b*), לְהִי (Col. MS., Pes. 90 *a*), לִידוּ, לִידִי (Col. MSS.), לְנָא (legal style), לָךְ, לְכוּ, לְהוֹן, לְהוּ.[1]—בֵּין: בֵּינִי, בֵּינַאי, בֵּינָךְ, בֵּינָהּ, בֵּינֵיהּ, בֵּינָן, בֵּינָא (legal style), בֵּינֵיכוּ, בֵּינֵיהוּ.—בֵּין: מִינַּאי, מִינָּא, מִינָּן, מִינָּהּ, מִינֵיהּ, מִינָךְ, מִינַּאי (§110), מִין (legal style), מִינְהוּ, מִינְכוּ, מִינְהוֹן, מִינֵיהוּ, מִינַּיְהוּ, מִינַּיְהִי.

§181. עִלָּא is little used with prepositions: עִילַּיְהוּ Qidd. 8 *b*; עִילּוֹהִי Ber. 56 *a*; עֲבִיד מָרָנָא עִלַּיְהּ *search it, Sir!* Ned. 50 *a*.[2] Instead of עִלָּא we find usually עִלָּוֵי, which Col. MS., Pes. 93 *b*, writes and vocalizes אִלָּאוֵי. Notice also the by-form עִילְוֵי O. MS., Sabb. 105 *b*, a. e.; עִילְוֵיהּ *upon him*, B. B. 12 *b* (־יהּ=־ֵיהּ).

CONJUNCTIONS.

§182. אֶבָל *but, however*, a Hebraism. אוֹ *or, if, whether.* אוֹ־אוֹ *either . . . or, whether . . . or.* אִי *if, whether* (§183). אִי אָמְרַתְּ בְּשִׁלְמָא . . . הֲוֵינוּ דְּ *I grant if you were to say . . . then it would be right.* אִי . . . אִי *either . . . or, whether . . . or.* אִי נַמִי *or, even if.*

אַיְדֵי, אִיְדֵי, אִיְדָא, אַיְדֵי, *since, as, because.*

אִירְהוּ (=אִי הֲוָה), used like אִיכוּ or מִירְהוּ q. v.—M. MS. and ed. Pesaro, A. Z. 55 *a*.

אִיזוּ, אִיזִי, זְ[3] (2 M. MS., Yôm. 30 *b*), *now, then, pray*, an exhortative and precative particle used with the imperative. For ז instead of ד *cf.* §31.

אִיךְ, a particle introducing direct speech = Hebr. כִּי; found only in legal style.

אִיכוּ, אִי כוּ (H. MS., B. M. 73 *b*), אִיכָּא (Sabb. 152 *b*), אִיכָּה (Yômâ 57 *a*, Yalq. MS.) is a compound of אִין *if* and כוּ, כָּא *here, now*, q. u., and is etymologically identical with Ethiopic 'enka. Generally used in the phrase אִיכוּ דַּשְׁתָּא *if now! oh that!* with the protasis or apodosis sometimes unexpressed.

[1] לוֹן, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §535.

[2] *Cf.* the German expression: sich über Etwas hermachen.

[3] זְ *HG.* 187, זִ *ibid.* 104, 183.—אַרְכִּי, akin to אִיזִי, אַיְזִי, and the Hebrew אַיְפוֹא, in הֵיכָא אַרְכִּי אֶעֱבִיד *how, now, shall I act? HG.* 410. This may, however, be identical with אִיכִּי, both meanings being possible with the latter form, as Ethiopic 'enka and our כוּ show.

אִילּוּ, אִלָּא, אִילָּא,[1] אֶלָּא (Col. MS., Zeb. 6 *a*) *if not, but, except, only.* Compare Latin *nisi*, Italian *se non*, אֶלָּא . . . לָא *only; cf.* the French *ne . . . que.*

אִילּוּ *if*, a Hebraism.

אִילְמָא,[2] אִילְמָא (Col. MSS.), *consequently.*

אִלְמָלֵי, אִלְמָלַי,[3] *if in any way not, if not, but for, if indeed.*

אַף *also;* generally נַמִּי . . . אַף *also, even.* בָּא . . . אַף נַמִּי *as . . . so.*[4]

אֲפִילּוּ, אַפִּילּוּ *even if, even*, a Hebraism.

אַף עַל גַּב דְּ *notwithstanding, although, though.*

אַף עַל פִּי כֵן *nevertheless*, a Hebraism.

דְּ or לְ (§ 31) *so that, that, in order that; for, since.*

דְּהָא *for, because.*

דִּלְמָא *lest, perhaps.*

הָא *then, of course, for sooth; but, is not it! this means to say; but.* Often וְהָא,

הוֹאִיל וְ *since, because*, a Hebraism.

הָיְלְכָךְ, הָלְכָךְ, הוֹלְכָךְ (Col. MSS.) *therefore* (= הֵיא + לְ + כָךְ, הָא, or הוּא).

הָכִי הַשְׁתָּא *is that so now? well!*

הַשְׁתָּא *since, when, if,* הַשְׁתָּא כִּי, see כִּי and אִיכִּי.

וְ *and, but.* Often introducing a question: *but, is it indeed so?* There are also traces of the ו consecutive. *Cf., e. g.,* וְאִיפַּטּוּר *and let her be freed*, Yeb. 19 *a.*

כְּ is used in peculiar way with סְבוּר *is of opinion*, כְּסְבוּרִי, כְּסָבוּר, without having any apparent force.[5]

כַּד *when*, (= כְּ + דְּ).

כִּי, כֵּי, כֵּן, a postpositive particle having the force of אִיכִּי and of אִילּוּ. M. MS., Sabb. 4 *a* וְלָא אִידְּכַר לְמַאן כִּי הֲתִירוּ *and he did not recollect whom they had allowed.* Qidd. 48 *a* בְּמַאי בְּרֵי,

[1] אַר לָא, *HG.* 406; אֶלָּא *or not* (= לָא + אוֹ) *HG.* 456. On the change of *o* to *e cf.* Haupt, *AEV.*, 22.

[2] For its etymology see Jastrow's *Diction.* s. v.

[3] On this word see R. Duval, *RÉJ.* IV., 268–273; M. Lambert, *ibid.* IX., 290–301; M. Jastrow, *ibid.* XI., 157–158; Halévy, מחברת, p. כא.

[4] In later literature we find the Persian הֵם הָכִי used for אַף in the phrase הֵם הָכִי, *cf. TG.*, ed. Harkavy, Index, s. v., and *Letter of Sam. ha-Nāgîd* אוצר טוב II. 68, הסהכי, read: הם הכי. The word is also found in Neo-Syriac; *cf.* Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 38, Maclean, *op. cit.*, 161.

[5] See on this כְּ: Geiger, *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mishna*, § 23, 2; and Sachau, *Skizze*, etc., p. 45.

read: בְּמַאי כּוּ *wherewith then*, etc.? Id. M. MS., Taan. 7 *b*, H. MS., B. M. 67 *b*. MS. Vat. 117, B. M. 67 *b* הֵיךְ כּוּ *how then?* M. MS., R. R. 29 *a* מַאן כּוּ *who then?* B. B. 10 *a* כֵּן הַשְׁתָּא, *ibid.* M. MS. הַשְׁתָּא כִּי, *ibid.* H. and R. MSS. הַשְׁתָּא כִּי. B. B. 111 *a* הַשְׁתָּא כִּי; M. Q. 26 *a*, eds. id. and frequent in MSS. *Cf.* Ethiopic ka, kē.[1]

כִּי (shortened from כְּדִי, or . . . כַּד) *if, when.* B. Q. 84 *b*, a. e. כִּי לָא לָא *if not, not.*

כִּי הֵיכִי דְּ־, כְּהֵיכִי דְּ־ (*TF.* 6) *so that, in order that.*—כִּי הֵיכִי דְּלָא *lest.*[2]

כֵּיוָן דְּ־, (כֵּין דְּ־ M. MS., B. M. 39 *a*) *as soon as, after, since.*[3]

מֵאַחַר *since.*

מִכֹּל (מִן + כֹּל) *in case, since, supposing.*

מִדְּ־ *from the fact that, since.*

מִידְּ, מִידְּהוּ, מִידָּת, *but, yet, however, nevertheless.*[4]

מִכָּאן *hence, it then follows.*

מִקַּמֵּי דְּ־ *before that, ere.*

נַמִּי *also, too, even*, frequently preceded by אַף, *q. v.*[5]

§ 183. אוֹ and אִי are often interchangeable so that, for instance, we may have אוֹ . . . אוֹ, אִי . . . אִי, אוֹ . . . אִי, אִי . . . אוֹ, promiscuously. Col. MS., Zeb. 2 *a* a. e., has אוֹבָעִית for the usual אִיבָּעִית; אוֹ *if*, id., *ibid.* 4 *b*, 5 *a;* דְּאוֹ אִיכָּא id., *ibid.* 5 *b.*

§ 184. אִי is frequently contracted with the following word. This is especially the case with some standing expressions; as אִיבָּעִית, אִילֵּימָא, אִינֵּימָא, אִיתֵּימָא. Col. MS., Zeb. 22 *b*, a. e., יְהֵכִי for אִי הָכִי.[6]

[1] In later literature: מאי כויאיברך, read: מַאי כּוּ אַיבָּרֵךְ *MV.* 5; מַאי כּוּ *Letter of Sam. ha-Nāgîd*, אוצר טוב II., p. 65.

[2] In later literature: כִּי הֵיכָא דְּ־ *HG.*, 63; כִּי הֵיכָן דְּ־, *ibid.* 24, 33; כְּהֵיכִי דְּ־, *ibid.* 73; כִּי הֵיכוֹן, 'Anân, quoted by Harkavy, *MWJ.*, 1893, p. 226.

[3] כָּאן דְּ־, *MV.* 11.

[4] מִיהוּא, or מִיהָא, *HG.* 473, 533. The word is a compound of the interrogative מִי and הוּא, הָא; *cf.* Jastrow, s. v.

[5] According to Dalman, *Gram.*, p. 191, note 2, נמי is the first pers. sing. perf. of נוּם *to speak.* The word is perhaps connected with 'Omanee Arabic نُومَة *also*, or with نَمَى *to increase.*

[6] For suggestions about the etymologies of some of the adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions, *cf.* Jastrow's *Dictionary;* Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.* VIII., 180-90; Luzzatto's *Grammar*, and Liebermann's pamphlet mentioned in the Preface.

INTERJECTIONS.

§185. אִי, הִי, *woe! alas! oh!*

אִי *O!* = Arabic يَا.[1] אִי שְׁתִיקוּ שְׁתִיקוּ *come now, keep quiet!* Qidd. 70*b*. This particle is more frequent in Palestinean Aramaic. אֲשׁוּר הֵיאָ *go on! make haste! hurry up! quick! lively!*[2]

וַי, וֵי, וֵי, *woe! oh! alas!*

דָּא דָּא, דֵּה דֵּה, the camel-driver's call. הָא הָא, הוֹ הוֹ, הָן הָן, (V. L. Pes. 112*b*), הוֹא (Col. MS., *ibid.*) the ox-driver's cries. זָא זָא, זֵה זֵה, זָא (V. L. *ibid.*) a cry to frighten away a lion.

הֵילָא, הֵילִיא, הֵילִינִי, הֵילִינִי, הֵילִינִי, הֵילִיוֹנִי, הֵילִיא, הֵילוֹק, הֵילְגִי, הֵילוֹם, הֵיאָ, are given in Pes. 112*b* (*cf. VL.*) as sailor's cries.[3] *Cf.* Syr. ܗܝܠܐ ܗܝܠܐ.

טִיךְ טִיךְ an onomatopoetic word imitating the dripping of water.

לְחַיִי *very well! all right!* The word is connected with Ethiopic lahaịa *to be beautiful. Cf.* Jastrow, s. v.

קִישׁ קִישׁ, פִּישׁ פִּישׁ, *ding-dong;* an onomatopoetic word.

תּוּךְ תּוּךְ an imitation of bubbling water.

§186. זָא זָא, הָא הָא, דָּא דָּא,[4] and their variants are evidently demonstrative pronouns, and their use as a means of urging on animals and warding off wild beasts is probably based on some superstitious notion no more apparent. *Cf.*, however, Arabic ضَعْ ضَعْ, دُهْ دُهْ, دَاوِ دَاوِ, هَاهْ, هَاهْ, زِهْ.

[1] For the explanation of this particle I am indebted to Professor Haupt, who remarks: "The אי in אי שתיקו is perhaps a cohortative particle, *cf.* Assyr. ï, *e. g.*, ï çî אי צאר *come out*, ï rid אי רד *go down*, etc. *Cf.* Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wb.*, p. 333, No. 160; *Prol.*, 135; *ZK.*, II., 389; *ZA.*, I., 51; *Assyr. Gramm.*, §145. It is possible that the אי in expressions like אי רבי *O Rabbi*, אי שוטה שבעולם, is the same particle. It is certainly not ἐ, εἶα. It may be connected with the Arabic vocative particle يَا. Also in Assyrian ï is used as a vocative particle like אי רבי, *e. g.*, ï belî; *cf.* Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, 1894, p. 52." From Saadya's commentary on the ספר יצירה (ed. Lambert, p. 45) we see that at his time the Arabic form רָא was in use, just as in modern Syriac. For its use in later Hebrew, *cf.* Derenbourg, *Manuel du Lecteur*, p. 189 (497) and Epstein, *'Eldād ha-Dānî*, p. 58, *cf.* also איר on a Babylonian magic bowl, *PSBA.* XII., 311.

[2] היריא occurs also in Neo-Syriac, Arabic and Kurdish (Lidzbarski, *DLZ.*, 1896, Col 583) and has nothing to do with חיא *to live.*

[3] Perles, *MWGJ.* XXXVII., 10, finds in some of these words the names of ships.

[4] דָּאדָה, M. V., 328.

THE VERB.

In General.—§ 187. The law of triconsonantality is carried out more consequently in our idiom than in the cognate languages. There is properly no quadriconsonantal verb in it. Almost all the quadriconsonantals can be easily reduced to a triconsonantal + a formative element; or to the reduplication of a biconsonantal theme. The few pluriconsonantals that cannot be so reduced are either denominatives or foreign words.

In Particular.—*Verbal Stems.*—§ 188. *a*) The subjoined table at the end gives a survey of all the conjugations or verb-stems found in the Babylonian Talmud together with the number of the occurrences of every stem. From this table will be evident that the stems that have proper life in our idiom are only five: Qal, Pa"ēl, Aph'ēl, Ithp^{e}'ēl and Ithpa"al.

b) Beside the stems enumerated, a few examples of Haph'ēl, Hithp^{e}'ēl, Hithpa"al and Niph'āl are found, which are all taken from the Palestinian. Thus, לְהִתְנַסְּבָא Yeb. 107 *b*, Gitt. 85 *b*; לְהִתְעַנְּאָה Taan. 17 *b*, Men. 65 *a*; תְּצַלְּקָן Keth. 52 *b*.[1] For Haph'ēl *cf.* "Rare Conjugations."

§ 189. A few examples of the passive stems occur only in the participle. Thus, Pu"al: מְשׁוּמָּת *put under ban*, Sabb. 67 *a*; מְדוּגְּנָא [Targ. מְדוֹגְּנָא] *becoming*, eds. Taan. 22 *b*; מְאוּחָרִי *post dated*, B. B. 171 *b*; מְכוֹעָרִי *ugly*, Keth. 60 *b*; מְבוּשְּׁלָתָא *boiled*, Ber. 44 *b*.—Pôlal: מְיוֹעָפִים *folded*, Ḥull. 51 *b*.—Pulpal: מְגוּלְגָּלְתָּא *rolled in ashes*, Ber. 44 *b*.—Hoph'al: מוּצְדַּק *is fit*, Gitt. 86 *a*; מוּחְזָק *is known*, Qidd. 64 *ab*; מוּפְלָג *distinguished*, 'Arûkh and Rašî, 'Er. 63 *a*; מוּכְחָא *is evident*, Sabb. 139 *b* and elsewhere; מוּפְנֶה *superfluous*, Yeb. 74 *a*; מוּזַרְתָּא *rotten*, Bekh. 57 *b*.

§ 190. In the dictionaries a Nithp^{e}'ēl or Nithpa"al is sometimes mentioned. No such form exists in the Babylonian Talmud. The examples given by them are either Hebrew, or the imperfect with the נ-preformative. A real Nithp^{e}'ēl seems to occur in נִיתְּצָד *was caught* (שערי תשובה, § 184, and Hal. Pesûq. ed. Müller, p. 77), but forms like נְדַיְּירֵיהּ, נְטַיְּיבֵיהּ (*ibid.*, p. 80) show that this is the imperfect used with the force of the Assyrian preterite.

[1] תשובות הגאונים ed. Harkavy, § 131, has דִּיתְתַּלְקָחָן (or דִּיתְתַּלְקָחָן?); נִמְלַךְ אֲנָא *I have reconsidered* (Ber. 42 *b*, Pes. 103 *b*), though in Aramaic context, is Hebrew.

Qal.—§ 191. The Qal, or simple stem, consists of the simplest root found in the language. The 3d sing. masc. perfect is קָטַל, especially with transitive verbs. Beside קָטַל are also found קָטִיל and קָטוֹל, chiefly with neuter verbs. The last form is rare. In the imperfect all the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u* occur even in strong stems. Of denominative verbs אכם, בדל, גשר, חטר, חפן, כנם, קטם and קנם are examples.

Pa"ēl.—§ 192. This stem is formed from the simple stem by doubling the middle stem-consonant. Thus original qatal(a) became qattal(a), a form still preserved with final gutturals. Generally, the second *a*-vowel has given place to the *i*-vowel originally belonging to the imperfect.[1] The first vowel is sometimes heightened to *i* (*ē*), especially under the influence of a following guttural, or ר. Pa"ēl is the denominative stem *par excellence; e. g.* אכּם, גייד, גרם, זוד, זוק, טיט, יבם, כבר, כור, לבן, כתּם, צלם, קנם.

Aphʿēl.—§ 193. This stem is formed from the Qal by the prefix of אַ. Thus, אַקְטַל from קָטַל. The stem-vowel is usually changed to *i*, if not protected by a following guttural, or ר. The vowel of the preformative undergoes sometimes the same change, and this not only in the perfect, as in Hebrew, but also in the other parts of the verb. Denominative verbs are few in this stem: אהדם, contracted אדם *to cut to pieces*, אדרים *to turn south*, אכנם *to gather*, אקליד *to enclose*, אתרים *to arm oneself*. The preformative א represents an earlier sibilant, שׁ or ס, probably through the intermediate stage of ה.

Reflexive Stems.—§ 194. The reflexive stems, which have in a later stage of development supplanted the passive stems formed by internal vowel-change, are formed from the active stems by prefixing the syllable אִתְ. Thus, אִתְקְטַל, אִתְקַטַּל, אִתַּקְטַל are formed from the Qal, Pa"ēl and Aphʿēl respectively. The original form of the prefromative was תִּ. The syncope of the vowel of ת and the subsequent prefixing of a prothetic vowel is probably due originally to the imperfect, where, *e. g.*, a form titaqatil would easily become titqatil, analogous to the Niphʿal in Hebrew, where הִקָּטֵל is formed from the imperfect stem n(a)qatil.

[1] This is the current opinion. But the *i*-vowel may also be original; *cf.* Zimmern *ZA.*, V., 1-22.

§195. With stems whose first consonant is a sibilant the ת is usually transposed after the sibilant, but just as frequently remains untransposed.

§196. In stems ע״י the ת of the Ithpᵉʿēl is always doubled in order to give the stem a semblance of triconsonantality.[1] The same is true of ע״ע stems when they follow the conjugation of the ע״י stems. The ת is also doubled in stems פ״א when the א is assimilated to it. The ת of the Ittaphʿal is doubled for the same reason. It is usually preserved in verbs פ״י.

§197. When the ת is spirantic it is usually assimilated to the first radical and the latter doubled.[2] When the first radical is ר or a guttural the assimilation of the ת takes place without consequent doubling.[3]

§198. The usual stem-vowel of the Ithpᵉʿēl is *i* (*ē*), but the original *a* has been retained in some cases even with non-gutturals. The Ithpaʿʿal has, with few exceptions, *a* in the last syllable.

Moods and Tenses.—§199. There are only three moods: the Indicative, the Imperative and the Infinitive. All other moods are expressed by syntactical means. The tenses are also three: the Perfect, the Imperfect and the Present. The last is represented by the participle.

Affortatives of the Perfect.—§200. *3d sing. fem.:* The older form ־ַת has been preserved in a few instances.[4] The apocopated form ־ָא, or ־ָה, written promiscuously, is the usual ending. A few times ־ִית occurs for ־ַת, which form is either an analogical formation after the ל״י verbs, or else the י marks the indistinct vowel-sound after the accent: qᵉtálᵉth.[5] Several times ־ָתְא occurs, as in the Hebrew ל״י verbs.[6]

[1] But *cf.* §480.

[2] *Cf.* Noeldeke, *MG.*, §164.

[3] But *cf.* הלכות גדולות ed. Hildesheimer, p. 282, אִירַצִי (vocalized).

[4] *Cf.* אָזַלַת *she went and transgressed*, Ned. 23*a*; טָבְעַת *foundered*, אִיתְאֲרֶשַׂת *was betrothed*, וְ[דְ]וּלַדַת *brought forth*, Ned. 50*a*; תְּבַרַת *broke*, *ibid.* 66*b*; עֲרִיקַת *fled*, Sabb. 67*a*; בְּטִילַת *ceased*, Sōtā 33*a*; אַקְרְבַת *brought near*, Yeb. 39*b*; אִיתְבְּטִילַת *was abolished*, Sabb. 116*b*, Ên Yaʿaqōb; אִיתְיְהִיבַת *was given. ibid.* (the last two examples belong to the Palest. dialect); אִיתְקַדְּשַׁת Koth. 62*b*; אִיתַּסְיֵאת *was cured*, *ibid.*; יְרַקַת *spit*, Yeb. 39*b*; and others.

[5] אִיתְנַטְלִית Sabb. 116*b* eds.; *cf.* אִישְׁתְּכַחִית *was found*, תשובות הגאונים ed. Harkavy, §550.

[6] עַלְתָא *entered*, B. Q. 48*a*; עַלְתָה Ber. 51*b*. *Cf.* also §536, *b*.

§201. *2d sing. masc.:* The usual ending is ־תָ; but the old ending ־תָא occurs a few times. Thus, נְדַרְתָּא *didst vow*, Ned. 23 *a;* רְכַבְתָּא *didst ride*, A. Z. 4 *b;* אִיגַּרְתָּא (√אגר) *didst hire thyself*, Yômā 20 *b*, M. MS.; סְפֵיתָא *wouldst have caused to eat*, Ḥull. 96 *a;* אִיפַּגַּרְתָּא ʿEn Y., Keth. 111 *a*.

§202. *2d sing. fem.:* The old ending ־תִי is never found; but the form ־ית, which like the afformative of the 1st sing. com. has arisen from the former by throwing back its final vowel, occurs a few times; *e. g.*, קְטַלִית *thou didst kill*, Keth. 65 *a;* אַרְבְּעִית *placest* (used as m.), B. Q. 114 *a;* יְהַבִית *gavest*, Keth. 85 *a;* אוֹזְפִית *lentest* (m.), Sabb. 66 *b*, M. MS. The usual form is ־תְ.

§203. *1st sing. com.:* The old ending ־תִי is found but in a few cases: בְּלַעְתִּי *I swallowed*, Ber. 56 *b*;[1] שְׁקַלְתִּי *I took*, Sabb. 156 *b* (M. MS. שְׁקַלְתְּ); אֲתֵיתִי *I came*, Taan. 32 *ab*, Suk. 44 *b*, Sabb. 116 *b*, Pes. 110 *b;* צַלֵּיתִי *I prayed*, Ber. 30 *b*, M. MS.; הֲוֵיתִי *I was*, Tam. 32 *a*, Suk. 44 *b*. The usual forms are ־ית (§241) and, with apocope of ת, ־י. The first is frequent; the last is the most common. The י before ת is in a few cases wanting. *Cf.* שְׁקַלְתְּ above, אַפֵּיקְתְּ *I brought out*, Ber. 38 *a* (Rašî אַפֵּיקִית). But this is probably to be read ־תְ.[2]

Rosenberg's supposition that the apocopated ending ־י is to be vocalized ־ִי[3] is untenable from orthographical considerations. The few examples with diphthongal ending, as: אֲזַלַאי *I went*, H. MS., B. B. 73 *b*, and אַסְחַאי *I removed*, Er. 54 *b*, are to be explained either as analogical formations to the ל״י verbs or according to §80. In any case the exception confirms the rule.[4]

§204. *3d plur. masc.:* The usual form is ־וּ. In a few cases we find ־וּן, due to the influence of the imperfect. In some cases we have ־ִין, ־ִי, due to the influence of the participles. In the feminine the ending is ־ָן.

§205. *2d plur. masc.:* The usual forms are ־תּוּן and ־תּוּ, both occurring with equal frequency. For the forms ־יתוּן, ־יתוּ, see §232 *a*.

[1] But this is probably בְּלַעְתִּיהּ = בְּלַעְתִּיהּ as in ed. Ven.

[2] *Cf.* §306 *β*.

[3] *Das Aram. Verbum*, p. 10.

[4] On the whole it may be said that the fuller endings of the 1st sing. com. and the 3d sing. fem. are found *a*) with strong verbs in passages of an early date, *b*) with weak verbs also in later times, to give more substance to the word.

§ 206. *1st plur. com.:* Alongside of the older form ־נָא we find the younger forms ־ן[1] and ־נָן. For the forms ־נָא, ־נָן, see § 232 *a*. Note שַׁעְבְּדָנִי *we subjected to servitude*, A. Z. 2 *b* (M. MS. שַׁעְבֵּדָן). This ending is common in Palestinian forms before suffixes.[2]

Preformatives of the Imperfect.—§ 207. *3d sing. masc.:* The original prefix י has been retained in the language of legal style, in some ancient proverbs, in all standing expressions, and in a few other cases. Usually the prefix is לִי or ל, and נִי or נ. Both prefixes, ל and נ, are used interchangeably for indicative as well as jussive.[3] The נ is, however, more frequently found in the indicative.

§ 208. That the ל had originally a jussive force, largely retained even in our late texts, admits of no doubt. Compare such passages as these: וְלֵיבְרוּ לֵיהּ וכו׳ לְגָזְרוּ עֲלָךְ בֵּן שְׁמַיָּא דְּלֶחֱוֵי טָבָא וְיֶחֱוֵי טָבָא *and let them tell him*, etc., "*may it be decreed by Heaven concerning thee that it be propitious*" *and it will be propitious*, Ber. 55 *b;* לָא לִיהַלֵּל הַדַּיְילוֹנֵיהּ *let no one praise himself in order that others may praise him*, 2 M. MS., MQ. 28 *b*.

Against the current opinion that the ל is identical with the Arabic particle لِ, Assyrian lu, and that the נ is only a phonetic variant of ל, Barth holds that the ל is of different origin from the נ, that both ל and נ are demonstrative particles, the first used for the jussive, the last for the indicative, and that these particles are not prefixed to the forms יקטל, יתקטל, etc., but substitute the י-prefix. The arguments he advances in support of his theory seem to be very plausible. There are only two points which seem to speak against this theory: (1) The interchange of נ and ל in the first person of the plural, and (2) the י after ל or נ in the Aph'ēl. But the first may be explained as a false analogy of the 3d person, the second as due to the change of the vowel of the prefix. For the last point speaks the fact that a pronunciation לְקַטֵּל is unsupported by orthography and unknown to tradition.

[1] That this form was so pronounced is evident from a form like תַּקְנָן.

[2] *Cf.* also הֲוֵינָן *we were*, *MV.* 86, and § 271, note.

[3] For the various opinions entertained about the nature of this ל see the references in Driver's *Hebrew Tenses*[3], pp. 276–7; Haupt, *BA.*, I., p. 17, note 20; Barth, "Das Syr. Imperfect-Prāfix *n*," *AJSL.*, XIII., 1–6.

NOTE.—A few exceptional spellings may here be noted: לַאסְהֵד *let him testify*, B. B. 43 *b*; לִיאדְרַה *let them cause her to make a vow*, Gitt. 35 *a*.[1] Note also לְאֵידְבַק *that I may attach myself*, M. MS., Pes. 41 *a* (§ 53, 4).[2]

§ 209. *3d sing. fem.:* The usual prefix is ת. At times ל is found instead. Whether this is an older form or is to be explained by the use of the masculine for the feminine (§ 234) cannot be decided.

§ 210. *2d sing.* and *plur. masc.* and *fem.:* The prefix is invariably ת.

§ 211. *1st sing. com.:* The prefix is invariably א. *3d plur. masc.* and *fem.:* The prefix for both is alike לי, ל or ני, נ, as in the 3d sing. masc.

§ 212. *1st plur. com.:* This prefix is generally נ, but sometimes ל.

§ 213. The vocalization of the preformatives of the imperfect vary in some respects from the Syriac. Thus, not only the א usually takes çērê instead of šᵉvâ, as in Syriac, but also the other prefixes, though with less frequency, follow the same rule. This is especially the case in verbs ע״ו and ע״י. The א takes a full vowel in consequence of its weakness; and the other prefixes follow their analogy. But *cf.* § 13.

Afformatives of the Imperfect.—§ 214. *2d sing. fem.:* The ending is ־ִין or ־ִי. It occurs only in a few cases (§ 249).

§ 215. *2d* and *3d plur. masc.:* The ending is ־וּן, or ־וּ. Both are of equal occurrence. The endings ־ִין and ־ִי are rare (§ 232).

§ 216. *3d plur. fem.:* The ending is ־ָן. Once we find לִיתְצַדָה : ־ָה *are caught*, M. MS., Sabb. 43 *b*. *Cf.* also § 411.

Afformatives of the Imperative.—§ 217. *Sing. masc.:* The ending of the energicus has been retained in a few instances פְּרַחִין *flee*, M. MS., Pes. 111 *b;* פְּרַעִין *pay*, Šebu. 41 *b*.[3]

§ 218. *Sing. fem.:* The ending is ־ִין, or ־ִי.

§ 219. *Plur. masc.:* The usual ending is ־וּ; but *cf.* אֲחִיתוּן *put ye*, Ned. 50 *b*. At times the nominal ending ־ִי appears (§ 232).

[1] *Cf.* Nöldeke, *MG.*, § 166.

[2] לַארַוּח *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 335; לְאִיחַתִר *HG.* 44.

[3] But this form may be feminine used for masculine.

§220. *Plur. fem.:* The only instance of such a form is קְטוֹלֶיךָן *kill ye*, Sabb. 12*b* (O. MS. קַטְלִינְהוּ). The ending ־ךָן may be equivalent to ־ינְהוּ.

The מ*-prefix of Infinitive and Participle.*—§221. Like the prefixes of the imperfect the מ in infinitives and participles has sometimes a full vowel instead of šᵉvâ. In a few cases the מ of the infinitive Qal has *u* instead of *i* (§553, *c*).

Affomatives of the Infinitive.—§222. The infinitive presents the following endings:

a) ־ָא, ־ָה; this is considered by Nöldeke to be the emphatic ending,[1] but according to Barth it is the feminine ending.[2]

b) ־ִי: The nature of this ending is uncertain. Fürst sees in it the masculine ending ־ִי, Syr. ־ē, Hebr. ־ֵה (*cf.* לִבְנֵה, אִשֵּׁה, עֶלְפֵּה);[3] Nöldeke takes it to be the feminine ending of the same form;[4] Landauer explains it to be the plural ending;[5] Barth, an abstract ending.[2] There remains still the possibility of its being the post-tonic indefinite vowel for original *â*, *û*, which change might have been due also to dissimilation.

One is inclined to connect this ending with the similar adjective ending in words like רַבְּתִי, חֲדָתִי, חַדָּתִי (B. M. 73*a*), חִיוַרְתִּי, אוּכַּמְתִּי, זוּטַרְתִּי, and the like. For a similar change *cf.* modern Arabic *e* for classical Arabic ־ē; see also §69, note 1, above.[6]

c) ־וֹיִי by analogy with ל״י verbs.

d) ־וּת, ־וּ. The last is shortened from the first and does not restore its ת even before suffixes. *Cf.* §64.

e) ־ֶת, doubtful. Only in מִכְפֶּת. According to Nöldeke, the last word is an analogical formation from אִכַּף/אכף; (but *cf.* מֵיחַת *to whip*, Maḥzôr Vitry, p. 28, = Ḥull. 107*b*).

f) ־ָן. The last forms (*c*–*f*) only sporadically.

§223. We let here follow the enumeration of all the infinitive forms found:

Qal: מִקְטַל, מַקְטַל, מִקְטֵיל, מִקְטוֹל, מִיקְטַל, מִקְטְלָא, מִקְטָלָה, מִקְטְלֵי, מִקְטוֹלֵי, מִקְטָלַת, מִקְטָלָן, קְטַל, אִקְטַל, קְטוֹל, אִקְטוֹל, קְטָלוֹיֵי, קַטְלוֹיֵי, קְטָלוֹי, קְטוֹלֵי.

[1] *MG.*, §122. *Nominalbildung*, §101.
[2] *Lehrgebäude*, p. 121.
[3] *MG.*, p. 143.
[4] *ZA.*, III., 274.
[5] *MG.*, p. 154.

Pa"ēl: קַטּוֹלִי, קְטוֹלִי, קְטוֹלָא, קַטָּלָא, קַטָּלֵי, קַטִּילֵי, קַטִּיל, קְטוֹל, קַטָּלוּ, קַטָּלוּת, מְקַטֵּל, מְקַטָּלָא, קַטָּלוּיֵי, קַטָּלָה.

Aph'ēl: אַקְטוֹלֵי, אִקְטוֹלֵי, אַקְטִילֵי, אַקְטֵלֵי, אַקְטֵלָא, אַקְטִיל, אַקְטוֹל, אַקְטַל, אַקְטוֹלָן, אַקְטוֹלֵיי, אַקְטָלָה, מַקְטוֹלֵי, מְקַטָּלָא, מְקַטַּל, מַקְטַל, נַקְטַל.

Ithpe"ēl: אִתְקְטוֹלֵי, אִתְקְטוֹלָא, אִתְקְטָלָא, אִתְקְטָלוּ, אִתְקְטָלֵי, אִתְקְטִיל, אִתְקְטַל, אִתְקוֹטֵל,[1] אִתְקְטוֹלָן, אִתְקְטָלוּיֵי, אִתְקְטוֹל, אִתְקְטִיל, אִתְקְטַל, מִתְקְטָלָא, מִתְקְטוֹלֵי, מִתְקְטַל.

Ithpa"al: אִתְקַטְּלוֹלֵי, אִתְקַטְּלוֹלָא, אִתְקַטָּלָא, אִתְקַטְּלוּיֵי, אִתְקַטּוֹל, אִתְקַטַּל, אִתְקַטִּיל, מִתְקַטָּלָא, נִתְקַטּוֹלֵי.[2]

Ittaph'al: אִתַּקְטוֹלֵי.

Pluri-consonantal stems.—Active: קַטְלוֹבֵי, קְטַלְּבֵי, קְטַלְּבָא, קַטְלָבָא, קַטְלָבוּת, קְטַלּוֹב.——*Passive:* אִתְקַטְלוֹבֵי, אִתְקַטְלָבֵי, אִתְקַטְלַב.

Afformatives of the Participle.—§ 224. *Sing. fem.:* The ending ־ַת is rare.[3] Generally it is ־ָא, or ־ָה. The first more frequent. The emphatic state ־ְתָא occurs but a few times. At times the perfect ending is found: בַּיְּשָׁלָאי *is fissured*, Ber. 25 *a;* מְרִיבְעָאי, F. MS., B. Q. 43 *b;* בִּיתַתָּאי *is low*, Pes. 8 *a*.[4]

§ 225. *Plur. masc.:* The ending ־ִין is rare. The usual ending is ־ֵי, as in Neo-Syriac.[5] More frequent is the verbal ending ־וּ, rarely ־וֹן. At times the nominal ending ־ֵאי occurs.

§ 226. *Plur. fem.:* The ending is ־ָן. In a few cases one would be inclined to suppose apocope of ן; *e. g.*, אַבְנֵי דְמִשַּׁפְיָא *cut stones*, B. B. 3 *a;* כַּרְעֵי דְמִנַּקְפָא *knocking knees*, Ber. 6 *a*. But we may also explain such forms as singulars (§ 235); *cf.* מִילֵּי אוֹחְרִי *other things*, M. MS., B. M. 15 *a;* מִילֵּי אַחֲרִינָא, eds. *ibid.*

Structure of Verb.—*In General.*—§ 227. The form qatul(a) of the simple stem occurs but in a few examples. Many verbs occur now as qatal(a), now as qatil(a) without difference in meaning, and the old correspondence of *i* and *u* perfects to *a*

[1] In ל"י verbs by analogy with the strong verb.

[2] This form is doubtful.

[3] *Cf.* מַחְמְמַת *she heats*, Taan. 21 *b;* מְשִׁשְׁתַּכְּחַת *is found*, Sabb. 110 *b*. *Cf.* §§ 23, *c;* 233.

[4] *Cf.* Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

[5] C. MS., Zeb. 14 *b*, has vocalized דְּעַבְדִי.

imperfect, of *a* perfect to *u* and *i* imperfects, is largely destroyed. In fact, some verbs occur with either of the three vowels.

§228. The derived stems have frequently *u* instead of the usual *i*, *e*.[1] This is frequent in the imperfect, rare in the perfect and imperative, and does not occur at all in the participle. But such nominal forms as מְיֻנֹקָא *suckling*, מְשֻׁבּוֹטָא *robber*, מְהֻדּוֹרָא *peddler*, evidently show its earlier existence also in the participle. I am also inclined to consider the nominal form קָטוֹלָא as originally a Qal active participle qâtûl, a by-form of qâtil.[2]

§229. The stem-vowel has a tendency to stay before afformatives in all forms of the finite verb. This tendency is predominating in the perfect and the imperative, but rare in the imperfect. The participle regularly loses its vowel before afformatives.[3]

§230. A vowelless guttural, or ר, generally retains original *ă* before it, or changes an original *i*, or *ŭ*, to *ă*.

In Particular.—§231. 1. Verbs whose stem ends in a consonant, sometimes transfer the afformative *û* of the plural from the end of the word to between the second and last stem-consonant (between first and last in biconsonantal verbs). This occurs frequently in the perfect, but is rare in the other parts of the verb.

2. Levy[4] supposes forms like קטול, אקטול, etc., to be infinitives. Of course, he had in view only the perfect. The few examples in other parts of the verb he either did not notice, or explained them away—and the latter can be easily done.

3. Arguments can be brought forth on both sides. In favor of Levy's theory are such facts:

a) Lack of a similar phenomenon in the cognate languages.

b) The use of unmistakable infinitives for finite forms in our idiom as well as in the cognate languages.

[1] Traces of this usage are found in the Targûmîm and in Assyrian: יְזַדְּרוֹק Lev. 7:3; אִתְרְגוֹשַׁת 2 Sam. 22:8; יִתְזוֹנִין Hos. 9:2; *cf.* Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 273 *sq.*

[2] These *u*-forms seem to represent a much earlier phase of verb-formation than is found in the cognate languages. The view that qatul(a), qatil(a) forms had originally corresponding derived forms just as qatala forms have, seems to be borne out by our idiom. *Cf.* on this question Zimmern, "Das Verhältnis des assyr. Permansivs zum semit. Perfect und zum ägypt. 'Pseudoparticip,'" *ZA.*, V., 1–22, and Lindl, *Die bab.-assyr. Präsens-u. Präteritalformen.* The theory that the *u*-vowel in such cases represents *ū*, which stands for *i* (*cf.* Barnstein, *The Targum of Onkelos to Genesis*, p. 21 and references), does not explain the presence of this vowel in the Ithpa"al.

[3] But *cf.* Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 220, note 2.

[4] *Neuhebr. Wb.*, s. v. שׁשׁ.

c) Traditional pronunciation of the form קְטוֹל as קָטוֹל.[1]

4. On the other hand it may be argued:

a) That this form is used exclusively for the third plural masculine. Had it been an infinitive, it would not have been so limited in number, nor in person.

b) That the ל״י verbs should have had a form corresponding to קְטוֹל of the strong verb.

c) That the corresponding forms in the derived stems show clearly the difference of the infinitive and the epenthetized forms. *Cf.*, *e. g.*, אַקְטוֹל with אַקְטוֹלֵי, אִתְקְטוֹל with אִתְקְטוֹלֵי.

5. The throwing back of the final vowel is probably due to a retrocession of the accent in the derived conjugations to the antepenultima, and, by analogy, also in the Qal. Traces of such retrocession are found in the nouns יַנְקוּתָא and שׁוּפְטָנֵי accented now on the first syllable.

§ 232. *a*) In consequence of the participles being used with the force of a tense, they and the perfect influence each other in several ways: in exchanging afformatives and structure of verbal theme. Thus, on the one hand, the perfect presents forms like קְטַלִי, קְטַלִין, instead of קְטָלוּ, while the participles appear as קָטְלוּ, קָטְלִי, instead of קָטְלִין, קָטְלִי, קָטְלִין, קָטְלִי.[2] On the other hand, the perfect, which ought to join its plural afformatives of the first and the second persons to a singular verbal theme: קְטַלְתּוּן, קְטַלְנָן, adopted from the participles the plural verbal theme: קְטַלִי+נָן, קְטַלִי+תוּן, while the participles underwent, through the influence of the perfect, a reverse process, assuming the singular theme before plural enclitic pronouns: קָטֵל+נָן, קָטֵל+תוּן, קָטְלָ+נָן, קָטְלָ+תוּן.

b) The passive participle of Qal has beside its regular form קְטִיל also a form קְטוּל. The latter is less frequent.

[1] The accent being on the penult, the last vowel is indistinctly pronounced. But, I think, it sounds more like *û* than *ô*. This is supported by two vocalized examples: שְׁדוּר *they sent*, Col. MS., Meg. 6*a*, and אֲמוּר *they said*, Še'ēlt., ed. pr., p. 26. Levy, in accordance with his theory, vocalizes קָטֹל. The קָטֵל in the traditional pronunciation is probably due to the influence of verbs פ״א or פ״ע, their initial consonant frequently taking a full vowel instead of *šewâ*, or is a Hebraism. *Cf.* § 531, *e*.

[2] In later literature: גְּרַסְיוּנָא (*bis*) *we learned*, *Resp. d. Lehrer d. Ost. u. Westens*, ed. Mueller, § 144 (Šerîrâ Gāôn); and even אַסְהִידִינִין, אַסְהִידְנוּ *they testified*, *ibid.*, § 89, =אַסְהִידוּ+אִינוּן, +אַסְהִיד.

§ 233. The imperfect forms without afformatives take in a few cases the endings of the perfect. Thus: תִּיתַסְרָא *let it be forbidden*, Ned. 23 *a*; נֵיתוּ וְנֵיתְבֵי מַיָּא *come, let us bring rain*, Taan. 25 *a*; תָּא נֵיהְווּ כוּלָּן לְעַמָּא חַד *come, let us all be one people*, Sanh. 39 *a*; דְּנִימְטַן *that we may carry off*, Hôr. 3 *b*; לִיעַיְּינַן *let us consider*, Sabb. 30 *b*; לִיבְטְלִינָן *let us abolish*, Col. MS., Zeb. 38 *a*; נֵיתֵיאַן *let us infer*, *ibid.* 106 *b* (§ 102);[1] אֶשְׁתְּמִיטְנָא *I shall eschew*, B. Q. 105 *b*; אֵיעַכְּבְנָא *I shall be late*, ʿEn Yaʿaq., Sanh. 98 *a*. The same is met with in the participle.

Gender.—§ 234. There are in the verb, as well as in the noun, two genders, masculine and feminine. But their use is irregular. On the whole it can be said that the feminine tends to disappear altogether. There is not a single masculine form that could not legitimately be used for the feminine, while many of the feminine forms are found in use for the masculine, both in verb and pronoun. *Cf.* § 236.[2]

Number.—§ 235. Of the two numbers, the singular is frequently used when we should expect the plural. This may be due to laxity of syntax, or, as in Syriac, to the orthographical omission of the plural ending, or to scribal errors.

[1] The section quoted is to be corrected by this.

[2] *Cf.* Lotz, *Tigl. Pileser*, p. 96 below; Nöldeke, *MG.*, § 162; Barnstein, pp. 30-33.

Qal.

PERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	קְטוֹל	קְטֵיל, (אִקְטֵיל)	קְטַל, (אִקְטַל)
3d fem. . . .	——	קְטֵילָא, ־ת	קְטַלָא, ־ת
2d masc. . .	——	קְטֵילְתְּ	קְטַלְתְּ
2d fem. . . .	——	——	קְטַלְית
1st com. . .	קְטוֹלִי[ת]	קְטֵילִי[ת]	קְטַלִי[ת]
Plur. 3d masc.	קְטוּלוּ	קְטִילוּ	קְטַלוּ
	——	——	קְטוּל
3d fem. . . .	——	קְטִילָן	קְטַלָן
2d masc. . .	——	קְטֵילְתּוּ[ן], ־יתּוּ[ן]	קְטַלְתּוּ[ן], ־יתּוּ[ן]
1st com.	——	קְטֵילְנָא, קְטֵילַן	קְטַלְנָא, קְטַלַן
	קְטוּלִינָן	קְטִילִינָן, ־לָן	קְטַלִינָן, ־לָן
IMPERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיקְטַל, נִי׳	לִיקְטֵיל, נִי׳	לִיקְטוֹל, נִיקְטוֹל
3d fem. . . .	תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטֵיל	תִּקְטוֹל
2d masc. . .	תִּקְטַל	תִּקְטֵיל	תִּקְטוֹל
2d fem. . . .		תִּקְטְלִי[ן]	
1st com. . .	אֶקְטַל	אֶקְטֵיל	אֶקְטוֹל
Plur. 3d masc. . .		לִיקְטְלוּ[ן], נִי׳	
3d fem. . . .		לִיקְטְלָן, נִי׳	
2d masc. . .		תִּקְטְלוּ[ן]	
1st com. . .	נִיקְטַל, לִי׳	נִיקְטֵיל, לִי׳	נִיקְטוֹל, לִי׳
IMPERATIVE—			
Sing. 2d masc. . .	קְטַל	קְטֵיל	קְטוֹל
2d fem. . . .	קְטַלִי[ן]	קְטִילִי[ן]	קְטוּלִי[ן]
Plur. 2d masc. . .	קְטַלוּ	קְטִילוּ	קְטוּלוּ
INFINITIVE		מִקְטַל	
PARTICIPLE—			
Active, sing. masc.		קָטֵיל	
fem. .		קָטְלָא	
Passive, sg. masc.		קְטִיל, (קְטוֹל)	
fem. .		קְטִילָא, (קְטוּלָא)	

STRONG VERB.

§ 236. The guttural verbs have been treated together with the non-gutturals, since for lack of vocalization we know but little of the modifications the former underwent.

In the examples given, masculine forms have been given as masculine, although used as feminine, and the reverse. *E. g.*, אִיעַבַּר *she became pregnant* (Bekh. 47 *a*, Sanh. 69 *a*) I put under masculine forms; מִיהַלָּן *circumcise yourselves* (M. MS., Sanh. 39 *a*), under feminine forms.

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§ 237. *a*) [BT קְטַל; M קטאל; S ܩܛܰܠ].[1]—שְׁקַל *he took*, Ned. 51 *a;* שְׁתַק *kept silent*, M. Q. 28 *a*, עֲרַק *fled*, M. Q. 28 *a;* שְׁלַח *sent*, שְׁמַע *heard*, Ned. 65 *a;* טְהַר *shone forth*. Yôm. 15 *a*.

b) [B קְטֵל, קְטַל; T קְטֵיל, קְטִיל; M קטיל; S ܩܛܶܠ].—סְלֵיק *ascended*, Ned. 66 *b*, Ber. 18 *b;* טְעֵים *tasted*, Ned. 66 *b;* שְׁכִיב *had died, ibid.*

c) [T קְטוּל; S ܩܛܽܘܠ].—חֲרוֹב *was destroyed*, Gitt. 55 *b;* תְּקוֹף *became foxy*, M. MS., Taan. 7 *a*, H. MS., B. M. 106 *b;* נְבוֹג *rose up, came up*, Sanh. 82 *a;* בְּרוֹק ברוקה *the bright star has shone forth*, a Babylonian saying quoted in *Jer. Talm.*, R. H. 57 *b;* פְּרוֹק *partook*, M. MS., Ber. 46 *a;* ed. Ven., *ibid.* 57 *b*.[2]

3d sing. fem.[3]—§ 238. *a*) [B קְטָלַת, קְטַלַת; T קְטַלַת; M קיטלאת; S ܩܛܶܠܬ].—גְּנַבַת *she stole*, Ned. 34 *b;* פְּקַעָה *burst, ibid.* 50 *a;* שְׁמַעַת *heard*, שְׁלַחָא *sent*, Ber. 51 *b*.[4]

b) [B קְטָלַת; T קְטִילַת; M קיטלאת; S ܩܛܶܠܬ].—סְלֵקָא *ascended*, Keth. 104 *a:* בְּעֵיתָא *was afraid*, Bêç. 25 *b;* שְׁכִיבָא *died*, Ber. 18 *b*. Sabb. 151 *b;* טְרִיקָא *stung*, Ber. 58 *b*.[5]

2d sing. masc.[6]—§ 239. *a*) [B קְטַלְתָּ, קְטַלְתָּ; T קְטַלְתָּא, קְטַלְתָּ; M קטאלת; S ܩܛܰܠܬ].—כְּתַבְתָּ *didst write*, Ḥag. 4 *b;* שְׁקַלְתָּ *didst take*, B. M. 63 *b;* סְלַקְתָּ *didst ascend*, Ber. 18 *b;* גְּנַבְתָּ *didst steal*,

[1] B = Bibl. Aramaic, T = Targumic Aramaic, M = Mandaic, S = Syriac.

[2] *Cf.* שְׁרוֹג, *HG.* ed. princ., 79 *c*.

[3] *Cf.* § 200.

[4] The spelling קטלא, קטלת (never קי) shows that this form is like that of T.

[5] This last verb is not Pa"ël as Jastrow thinks.

[6] *Cf.* § 201.

ibid. 56 *b*; שְׁמַעְתְּ *didst hear*, Ned. 6 *a*; פְּשַׁעְתְּ *didst commit a crime*, B. Q. 85 *a*.

b) [B ־תָּ, קְטַלְתְּ; T ־תָּא, קְטַלְתְּ; M קטלת; S ܩܛܠܬ].—סְלֵיקְתְּ *didst ascend*, Ber. 18 *b*; טְחֵינְתְּ *didst grind*, Sanh. 95 *b*; נְסֵיבְתְּ[ן] *hast married*, Sand. 97 *a*; פְּרֵיסְתְּ *didst spread out*, Qidd. 29 *b*.

2d sing. fem.[1]—§ 240. *a*) [T עבדתין; S ܥܒܕܬ].—קְטַלְתְּ *didst kill*, Keth. 65 *a*; שְׁקַלְתְּ, Tam. 32 *b*; זְבַנְתְּ *didst buy*, B. M. 51 *a*; קְטַלְתְּ *didst kill*, *ibid.* 59 *a*.

1st sing. com.[2]—§ 241. *a*) [B קְטַלֵת; T קְטַלִית, קטלת; M קיטלית; S ܩܛܠܬ].—עֲבַדִית *I did*; Sabb. 145 *b*; סְלַקִית *I rose*, Ber. 57 *a*; כְּבַשִׁית *conquered*, Sanh. 95 *a*; שְׁמַעִית *heard*, B. Q 67 *a*; שְׁקַלֵת *took*, M. MS., Sabb. 156 *b*; עֲבַדִי *did*, Pes. 103 *a*;[3] גְּנַבִי *stole*, B. Q. 65 *a*; נְשַׁקִי *kissed*, Ber. 56 *b*; שְׁתַלִי *I planted*, Taan. 23 *a*; שְׁלַחִי *I sent*, M. Q. 16 *b*.[4]

b) [B קְטַלֵת; T קְטַלִית; M קיטלית; S ܩܛܠܬ].—שְׁפַלִית *I went down*, Sabb. 116 *b*; כְּתִיבֵת *wrote*, *ibid.* 105 *a*; שְׁקַלִי *took*, *ibid.* 156 *b*; שְׁבִיקִי *left*, Keth. 53 *a*; בְּעִיתִי *was afraid*, Nid. 13 *a*; נְסִיבִי *took*, *married*, Sanh. 97 *a*; חֲתִימִי *signed*, B. B. 167 *a*; סְלִיקִי *ascended*, M. MS., Ber. 57 *a*; זְבִינִי *I bought*, Sōtā 13 *a*.

c) [T שְׁתוֹקִי].—שְׁתוֹקִי *I kept silence*, Sabb. 29 *b*; פְּרוֹכִי *I partook*, M. MS., Ber. 49 *a*.

3d plur. masc.—§ 242. *a*) [BT קְטַלוּ; Pal. Talm. קטלון; M קטאל; S ܩ̈, ܩ̈ ,ܩ̈ ,ܩ̈ ,

שְׁלִימוּ *were completed*, M. Q. 28 *b*; תְּקִיפוּ *became foxy*, Ber. 5 *b* (M. MS. תְּקוּקִם, Bêth Nāthān אִיתְּקוּקִם, *cf.* §87); כְּפִיתִין *they tied*, M. MS., Ber. 56 *b*.

c) [T קְטוֹלוּ].—פְּרוּכוּ *ate*, Ber. 22 *b*, ed. Ven.

d) *With final vowel thrown back:*[1] הֲדוּר *returned*, Sanh. 26 *a*; עֲבוּד *did*, Zeb. 99 *b*; סְלוּק Taan. 23 *b*; קְבוּר *buried*, Sanh. 26 *b*; סְמוּךְ *relied*, *ibid.* 26 *a*; גְּזוּר *decreed*, Macc. 20 *a*; גְּזוּל *robbed*, B. M. 62 *a*; זְבוּחַ *slaughtered*, Ḥull. 4 *b*; נְפוּל *fell upon*, Gitt. 57 *a*; סְבוּר *were of opinion*, *ibid.* 56 *a*; חֲרוּב *were destroyed*, Meg. 4 *a*; נְהוּר *are bright*, Taan. 10 *a*; חֲשׁוּךְ *are dark*, *ibid.*

3d plur. fem.—§243. נְפַלָן *they fell*, Sôtā 13 *a*; נְתַרָן *dropped out*, *ibid.*; נְפַקָן *came out*, Sanh. 101 *a*.

2d plur. masc.—§244. *a*) [BT קְטַלְתּוּן; M קטאלתון; S ܩܛܠܬܘܢ].—עֲבַדִיתוּן *ye did*, Ned. 65 *a*.[2]

b) [TM קְטִילְתּוּן; S ܩܛܝܠܬܘܢ].—עֲבִידְתּוּן Ned. 25 *a*; עֲבִידִיתוּ Sanh. 108 *b*;[3] שְׁקִילְתּוּ *ye took*, *ibid.* 110 *a*; עֲסִיקְתּוּ *busied yourselves*, Yeb. 105 *a*; קְטִיפְתּוּ *break off*, Arûkh, A. Z. 72 *b*; מְהַלִיתּוּ *circumcise yourselves*, Sanh. 29 *a* (ʿEn Yaq. מִיהִילְתּוּ).[4]

1st plur. com.—§245. *a*) [B קְטַלְנָא; T קְטַלְנָא, קטלנן; M קטאלנן; S ܩܛܠܢ, ܩܛܠܢ].—פְּתַרְנָא *we explained*, Tam. 32 *a*; חַתַמְנָא *we signed*, B. B. 164 *a*; שְׁקַלְנָא *took*, B. Q. 108 *b*; הֲדַרְנָן *returned*, B. B. 74 *b*; פְּשַׁטְנָא *explained*, Ḥull. 77 *a*; עֲבַרִינָן *we crossed*, Ned. 22 *b*; פְּרַקִינָן *we redeemed*, Gitt. 38 *a*; סְבַרִינָן *we thought*, סְלַקִינָן *we disembarked*, B. B. 73 *b*.

b) [B קְטִלְנָא; T קְטִילְנָא; M קטילנן; S ܩܛܝܠܢ, ܩܛܝܠܢ].—שְׁכִיבְנָן *we slept*, Sanh. 7 *a*; זְבִינָן *bought*, R. MS., B. B. 126 *a*.

c) עֲרוּקִינָן *we fled*, B. B. 8 *a*.[3]

Imperfect.—*3d sing. masc.*[5]—§246. *a*) [B יִקְטַל; T יִקְטוֹל, (יְקַטוּל); M ניקטול; S ܢܩܛܘܠ].—לִיכְתּוֹב *writes*, M. Q. 8 *a*; לִיטְעוֹם *tastes*, Sabb. 11 *a*; לִטְעוֹם, Ned. 22 *b*; לִמְעוֹל *transgresses*, *ibid.* 54 *a*; לִיסְלוֹק *ascends*, Sabb. 110 *a*; נִיגְזוֹר *decrees*, M. Q. 14 *b*; לִיחְרוֹב *is destroyed*, *ibid.* 9 *b*; לִיהְרוֹךְ *roasts*, Pes. 40 *a*;

[1] *Cf.* §§71, 78, 232.

[2] *Cf.* §232; פְּתַרְתּוּן, *HG.* ed. pr. 143 *a*.

[3] *Cf.* §232, *a*.

[4] This seems to be a kind of precative perfect.

[5] A few forms occur without ל: יְחָרוֹב Nāz. 32 *b*; יְמָלוֹךְ A. Z. 10 *a*; יִמְלַךְ *ibid.*; יָעְקֹר *ibid.* 16 *a*; וְלִבַּשׁ Ber. 28 *a*. *Cf.* §207.

לְיִחְשׁוֹב *counts*, Macc. 22 *a*; לְיִחְדּוֹק *squeezes*, Sabb. 139 *b*; לְיֶעְבּוֹר *transgresses*, Ned. 4 *ab*; נִטְרוֹק *bolts*, Er. 102 *a*.

b) [T יְקַטֵּיל].—לִיסְלִיק Gitt. 67 *b*, Sabb. 141 *a*; לִיסְחִים *upturns*, Sabb. 110 *a*; לִיזְבִּין *buys*, *ibid.* 140 *b*; נִיעֲבִיד *does*, *ibid.* 134 *b*; לֶיעֱבִיד, *ibid.* 81 *a*, Ber. 30 *a*; לַחְלִים *passes by*, Gitt. 56 *b*; לִיחֲשִׁיב *counts*, Nāz. 21 *a*; לִיפְסִיד *has loss*, B. M. 109 *b*.[1]

c) [BT יְקַטַּל; M נִיקְטַאל; S נַפְעֶל].—לִיפְתַּח *begins*, Ned. 3 *a*; לִיסְבַּר *reasons*, Sabb. 63 *a*; לִיזְרַע *sows*, *ibid.* 85 *a*; לִישְׁוַאר (ʿArûkh לִישְׁוַור) *jumps*, *ibid.* 110 *a*; לִיחְשַׁב *counts*, *ibid.* 74 *a*; נִיחְדַּק *pushes in*, *ibid.* 139 *b*; לִיחְרַב *is destroyed*, Gitt. 56 *a*; לֶיעֱבַד *does*, A. Z. 28 *b*; נִיחְוַור *is white*, B. Q. 69 *a*; לִיקְרַב Sanh. 3 *b*.

3d sing. fem.—§ 247. *a*) תִּישְׁקוֹל *takes*, Sabb. 110 *b*; תַּחֲלוֹץ *takes off the shoe*, Yeb. 105 *a*.

c) תִּשְׁלַח *takes off*, Sabb. 110 *a*; תִּפְחַשׁ (§23, *c*) *deteriorates*, MS. H. B. M. 104 *b*.

2d sing. masc.—§ 248. *a*) תִּיקְטוֹל *killest*, Pes. 25 *b*; תְּפַשּׁוֹט *explainest*, Sabb. 3 *b*.

b) תַּחֲלִים *passest by*, Yômâ 18 *a*.

c) תִּיחֲרַט *regrettest*, Pes. 113 *a*; תְּחֻצַּד *harvestest*, M. Q. 9 *b*; תִּירְתַּח *gettest angry*, Ber. 29 *b*; תִּקְרַב *approachest*, Sabb. 13 *a*.

2d sing. fem.—§ 249. [BT תִּקְטְלִין; M תיקטול, תיקטאל; S תַּפְעֲלִי].—תִּדְחֲלִין B. M. 84 *b*; תִּדְחֲלִי *fearest*, Sabb. 63 *b*; תַּעַבְדִי *doest*, M. Q. 27 *b*.

1st sing. com.—§ 250. *a*) אֶחְצוֹד *I harvest*, M. Q. 9 *b*; אֶיזְבּוֹן *buy*, B. B. 30 *b*; אֶדְרוֹשׁ *lecture*, Sabb. 80 *b*; אֶשְׁקוֹל *remove*, Meg. 16 *a*; אֶיבְחוֹק *I try*, Yeb. 65 *a*.

b) אֶמְזוֹג *I mix wine*, Ned. 55 *a*; אֶיעֱבִיד *I do*, Gitt. 56 *a*, Sabb. 81 *b*.

c) אֶגְמוֹר *I learn*, Nid. 48 *a*; אֶשְׁמַע *hear*, Ber. 24 *b*; אֶזְרַע *sow*, M. Q. 9 *b*.

3d plur. masc.—§ 251. BT יְקַטְּלוּן; M נִיקִיטְלוּן; S נַפְעֲלוּ].—1) *With stem-vowel omitted:* לֵיעְבְּדוּן, M. MS., B. B. 156 *a*; לְיַהֲדְרוּן *return*, C. MS., M. Q. 9 *b*; לִירְהֲטוּ *run*, Ḫull. 51 *a*; לִיזְבְּנוּ *buy*, Sabb. 75 *b*; נִיהַדְּרוּ Ber. 37 *a*; נִכְתְּבוּ *write*, Gitt. 66 *a*; לִישְׁמְעוּ A. Z. 2 *b* (M. MS., *ibid.*, לִישְׁמְעִי); לֵיעְבְּדוּ Sanh. 95 *b*;

[1] *Cf.* לִישְׁחִיט *HG.* ed. princ. 126 *c*, נַחֲלִיץ *ibid.* 59 *a*; but לִיחֲלוֹץ *ibid.* 59 *b*.

לְיַעְבְּדֵי *ibid.* 96 *b*; לְיִתְפְּסֵי *take hold*, Yeb. 92 *b*; נִיפְלְגֵי *give a share*, Sabb. 116 *b*.[1]

2) *With retained stem-vowel:* נְגָרוּסוּ *study*, P. MS., Ber. 13 *b*; לַעֲרוּקוּ *flee*, B. B. 8 *a*; לַעֲבִידוּ *do*, *ibid.* 156 *a*.

3) *With final vowel thrown back:* נְזָבוּן *buy*, Ber. 53 *a*; נְפָרוֹס, Bêçā 30 *a*; לִיסָהוֹד *testify*, Yeb. 31 *b*; לִיפָּשׁוֹט *unloosen*, Gitt. 69 *a*.

3d plur. fem.—§ 252. לִיהַדְרָן *they return*, ʿEn Yaq., M. Q. 9 *b*.

2d plur. masc.—§ 253. 1) תִּיזָבְנוּן *ye buy*, Taan. 24 *a*; תִּדְחֲלוּן *are afraid*, B. B. 10 *a*; תִּדְרְשׁוּן *teach*, Bêçā 28 *a*; תִּגְמְרוּ *learn*, B. B. 130 *b*; תַּעֲבְדוּ, *ibid.* 10 *a*.

2) תַּעֲבִידוּ, B. B. 130 *b*, M. MS. *ibid.* תַּעֲבִידוּן.

1st plur. com.—§ 254. *a*) נִישְׁבּוֹק *we leave*, Sabb. 119 *b*; נִיקְטוֹל, Sanh. 82 *b*; נִיגְזוֹר *decree*, Pes. 105 *a*; נֵעָרוֹב *associate*, Sôtā 21 *a*; לִיפְלוֹג *divide*, *ibid.*

b) נַעֲבִיד, Sabb. 37 *b*, Gitt. 56 *a*; נְקַטִּיל Pes. 12 *a*.

Imperative.—*Sing. masc.*—§ 255. *a*) [B קְטֹל; T קְטוֹל; M קטול; S ܩܛܘܠ].—רְקוֹד *dance*, Ned. 51 *a*; פְּלוֹט *spit out*, *ibid.* 49 *b*; שְׁפוֹךְ *pour out*, Ber. 62 *b*; שְׁקוֹל *take*, B. B. 6 *b*; גְּדוֹשׁ *put up a stack*, B. Q. 59 *b*.

b) [T קַטֵּיל].—סְגֵיד *worship*, Meg. 16 *b*; זְקֵיף *hang up*, B. M. 59 *b*; טְעֵים *taste*, Ber. 5 *b*; גְּחֵין *bow down*, B. M. 59 *a*; שְׁקֵיל *take*, Sabb. 142 *b*; עֲבֵיד *do*, Bekh. 8 *b*, Gitt. 68 *b*; פְּסֵיק *cut off*, Sabb. 75 *a*; לֵךְ *go*, only in one proverb, Sabb. 13 *a*; עִיבֵיד, Ned. 51 *a* and elsewhere (§ 13).

c) [T קַטַל; M קטאל; S ܩܛܶܠ].—שְׁלַח *take off*, Ber. 28 *a*; שְׁמַע *hear*, Ned. 7 *b*; פְּרַע *pay*, *ibid.* 25 *a*; פְּלַח *serve*, A. Z. 18 *a*; מְשַׁךְ *drag*, *carry*, B. Q. 93 *a*; בְּחַר *choose*, Yeb. 63 *a*.

d) By analogy with ל״י verbs, גַּרְדִי (§ 259, *i*, note), ʿArûkh, Nāz. 4 *b*.

Sing. fem.—§ 256. *a*) [B קָטְלִי; T קְטוֹלִי; Jer. Talm.: קוטלין, קטלין; S ܩܛܽܠܝ].—שְׁקוֹלִי *take*, Meg. 18 *a*; נְהוֹגִי *conduct*, M. Q. 16 *b*.

b) [T קַטִּילִי].—עֲבִידִי *do*, Yeb. 63 *a*; נְהִיגִי M. MS., M. Q. 16 *b*; שְׁתִיקִי *keep silent*, Keth. 103 *a*, ʿEn Y. (§ 23 *c*).

c) [T קַטְלִי; S ܩܛܶܠ].—שְׁבְקִי *leave*, Ber. 31 *b*; תִּבְרִי *break*, Ned. 66 *b*; and with loss of stem-vowel פִּירְחִי *fly*, *flee*, Pes. 111 *b* (M. MS., *ibid.* פִּרְחִין).

[1] *Cf.* לְיַעְבְּדִין, *Igg. Šerirâ*, p. 23, ed. Brüll; יְסָהֲדִין Harkavy's ed. of תש׳ הגא׳, § 54.

Plur. masc.—§257. *a*) [B קְטָלוּ; T קְטוֹלוּ; Palest. Talm. קוטלון; S ܩܛܠ̈ܝ, ܩܛܠ̈ܟ].—כְּתוּבוּ *write ye*, B. B. 40 *a;* עֲרוּקוּ *flee*, *ibid.* 8 *a;* טְרוּקוּ *bolt*, Ber. 28 *a;* לְחוּשׁוּ *whisper*, Yômâ 82 *b;* שְׁקוּלוּ Er. 94 *a;* שְׁקוּלִי Sanh. 26 *a*, Qidd. 81 *a;* with omitted stem-vowel: בִּידְקוּ *examine*, Gitt. 68 *b*.

b) [T קְטִילוּ].—כְּתִיבוּ *write*, Yômâ 77 *a;* טְעִימוּ *taste*, Pes. 111 *a;* עֲבִידוּ *do*, Bekh. 8 *b;* בְּעִירוּ *remove*, Pes. 5 *b*.

c) [T קְטַלוּ; Palest. Talm. קטלון; S ܩܛܠ̈ܝ, ܩܛܠ̈ܟ].—פְּתַחוּ *open ye*, Sabb. 41 *a;* זְרַעוּ *sow*, *ibid.;* כְּתַבוּ B. B. 40 *a;* with omitted stem-vowel: מִישְׁחוּ *measure*, Bekh. 8 *b*.

d) With epenthetic vowel: הֲדוּר *return*, Gitt. 68 *b;* עֲטוּם *cover yourselves*, M. Q. 28 *b*. The last example may also be explained as singular.

Plur. fem.—§258. [B קְטָלְנָא; S ܩܛܠ̈ܢ, ܩܛܠ̈ܟܢ].—קְטוֹלִין *kill ye*, Sabb. 12 *a*. But this single example is doubtful. O. MS. has for it קַטְלִיפְהוּ, and the form קְטוֹלִין may also contain the objective suffix. מִיהַלָּן *have yourselves circumcised*, Sanh. 39 *a*, M. MS.

Infinitive.—§259. The usual form is מִקְטַל; the other forms occur sporadically.

a) miqtăl: לְמִשְׁקַל *to take*, Ned. 12 *b*, 37 *a;* לְמִיסְבַּל *to stand, suffer*, *ibid.* 51 *a;* לְמֵיעְבַּד *to do*, *ibid.* 76 *a;* מִיעְקַר *to annul*, Nāz. 21 *b;* מִישְׁרַף *to gulp;* מִשְׁטַר *to smear*, *ibid;* מִיקְדַּשׁ *to be holy*, Nāz. 22 *b*.

b) miqtŭl: לְמִטְבּוֹל, Nidd. 66 *b*.

c) miqtīl: מִיצְמִית *to harden*, Pes. 41 *a*, 74 *b;* מִיקְלִישׁ *to weaken*, Ned. 68 *a;* מִיפְּשִׁיט *to be clear*, Pes. 83 *b;* מִקְפִּיד *to be particular*, A. Z. 31 *a;* מִזְרִיק *to cause soreness*, ʿEn Yaʿaq., A. Z. 28 *b*.

d) miqtălâ, miqtīlâ (§223 *a*): מִשְׁטְחָא, B. B. 29 *b;* לְמִישְׁטְחָא *to spread*, B. M. 106 *a;* מֵיעְבְּדָא *to do*, Sabb. 50 *a;* לְמִיזְרְעָה *to sow*, B. M. 106 *b;* מִשְׁתְּקָה *to keep silence*, Qidd. 13 *a;* לְמִשְׁלְפָא *to take off*, Gitt. 56 *b;* לְמִשְׁטְפָא *to deluge*, Succ. 53 *a;* לְמִיקְרְבָא *to approach*, M. Q. 28 *a*.

e) miqtălê, miqtilê (§226): מִיהַדְּרֵי *to take back*, ʿAr. 23 *a;* מִשְׁקְלֵי *to be balanced, ambiguous*, *ibid.* 18 *b;* מִיגְמְרֵי *to learn*, Hôr. 12 *a*.

f) qŭtŭl: נְדוֹר *to vow*, Ned. 21 *b*; לְקַסּוֹם *to divine*, Gitt. 68 *b*; לְסַמּוֹךְ *to lean*, Er. 15 *a*; לְטַעֹם *to taste*, Ber. 28 *b*; לְשַׁקּוֹל *to take*, Me'îlā 17 *b*.

g) qătăl or qitălˇ: טָרַח *to trouble*, Yômâ 19 *a*, 'Arûkh, Ḥull. 51 *a*; עָנַשׁ *to punish*, M. Q. 25 *a*; [בָּלְעָא *to swallow it*, B. B. 74 *b*; but this may also be the emphatic participle בָּלְעָא].

h) qŭtûlê: לְפָרוֹשֵׁי *to withdraw*, M. MS., Šebu. 18 *b*; לַעֲבוֹרֵי *to cross*, Pes. 74 *b*; לְדָבוֹקֵי *to attach oneself*, Keth. 111 *b*; לְפָלוֹחֵי *to serve*, Ber. 27 *b*; חֲשׁוֹבֵי *to have in mind*, Zeb. 36 *a*; צְמוֹתֵי *to harden*, Pes. 41 *a*; שְׁלוֹפֵי *to pull out*, M. Q. 4 *b*; שְׁלוֹפֵי *to draw out*, Yeb. 102 *b*.

i) qitâlâ: לְשַׁטָּחָא *to spread out*, M. MS., B. B. 29 *b*.

j) qatlûᵢê, qitlûᵢê: (by analogy with verbs ל״י): גַּרְהוֵי,[1] גִּירְהוֵי, גִּרְהוֹי, 'Arûkh, Nāz. 4 *b*.[2]

Note.—Our idiom shows a tendency to use the form קטולי as an absolute infinitive with finite verbs of all conjugations. For this reason many of the forms given under *lit. g* are doubtful, as they may belong to Pa"ēl, although used as inner object to verbs of Qal. There is, however, no doubt that some of these forms are used as Qal.

Active Participle.—§260. The form of the active participle is קָטֵיל (or קָטִיל), the vowel of the second syllable being syncopated when the word is lengthened. The vowel of the first syllable is sometimes changed to *î*, *ê*, or *ai* (§§69, 80). Verbs whose last stem-consonant is a guttural, or ר, take *ă* in the second syllable (§73). In the lengthened forms *â* is shortened to *ă* in traditional pronunciation (§76). In the feminine the ending ־ַת is very rare (§224). As this participle is mostly used with verbal force, the determinate state is very rare.

Sing. masc.—§261. *a*) סָלֵיק *leaves off*, Ned. 2 *b*, 30 *b*; דָּרֵישׁ *explains*, *ibid.* 3 *a*; עָבִיד *does*, *ibid.* 25 *a*; סָפֵיד *laments*, Sabb. 90 *b*.

b) פָּתַח *begins*, Ned. 3 *a*; עָבַר *transgresses*, M. Q. 17 *a*; סָבַר *holds*, *ibid.*, 6 *b*; שָׁוֵואר *jumps*, B. B. 96 *a* (§10); יָדַע *knows*, Ned. 8 *a*; נָבַהּ *is sufficient*, M. Q. 16 *b*.[3]

[1] *Cf.* Jastrow, s. v. גָּרַר.

[2] In later literature: לְמִהְדַּר (voc.), *HG.* 34; לְמִירְמְזוֹג *TG.* ed. Cassel, §104; אִגְמוֹר *Igg. Šerirâ*, p. 8; לְקַבּוֹעֵי *MV.*, p. 40.

[3] *Cf.* הָדִיר *HG.* 377; פָּרִיעַ *ibid.* 402.

Sing. fem.[1]—§262. דָּחֲקָה *pushes*, M. Q. 28 *a*; רָהֲטָא *runs*, *ibid.* 9 *b*; עָבְדָה *does*, *ibid.* 17 *a*; הָדְרָא *returns*, Sabb. 151 *a*; מָתְנָא *is wet*, Rašî, Pes. 111 *b* [M. MS. מִיתִּינָא (§§69, 86), eds. מַיְיתֵינַהּ (§80)].

Plur. masc.—§263. פָּתְחִין *open*, Ned. 22 *a*; פָּסְקִין *divide*, *ibid.* 38 *a*; עָבְדִין *would make*, *ibid.* 50 *a*; קָטְלִין *kill*, M. Q. 14 *b*; תָּפְסִי *take hold*, Ned. 6 *b*; בָּטְלִי *are neutralized*, *ibid.* 59 *a*; גָּנְבִי *stole*, *ibid.* 62 *a*; קָטְלוּ *kill*, B. M. 86 *a*; דָּחֲקוּ *importune*, Taan. 23 *b*; שָׁלְחוּ *send*, B. Q. 20 *b*.

Plur. fem.—§264. שָׁדְרָן *dragged along*, Ḥull. 51 *a*; שָׁכְבָן *are to die*, Ber. 56 *a*; פָּרְחָן *fly*, *ibid.*; סָלְקָן *come up*, *ibid.* 20 *a*; רִיהֲטָן *are frisky*, Sabb. 32 *a* (§69); נָטְרָן *wait*, Ber. 17 *a*; עָקְרִין Hôr. 7 *b*.

Passive Participle.—§265. The passive participle has generally retained its nominal force, except when used with following ל to form the periphrastic perfect, or present.[2] It is therefore often found in the determinate state, both in singular and plural. In a few cases the first stem-consonant has *ā*, as in Hebrew (§84). Besides the usual form קָטִיל the form קָטוּל is found in a few instances.

Sing. masc.—§266. *a*) כְּתִיב *written*, Ned. 3 *a*; שְׁכִיחַ *occurs*, *is frequent*, *ibid.* 33 *b*, 56 *b*; שְׁמִיעַ *heard*, *ibid.* 41 *a*; עֲבִיד *is made*, *ibid.* 54 *b*; כָּתֵב, Sabb. 116 *b*; צָרִיךְ, Ned. 3 *a* and frequent;[3] עָדִיף *is preferable*, Pes. 95 *b*.[4]—*e.* קְטִילָא *killed*, Pes. 111 *b*, Sanh. 65 *a*; רְטִיבָא *wet*, *ibid.* 93 *a*; זְמִינָא *invited*, Ned. 24 *a*; צְנִיעָא *pious*, *chaste*, Men. 49 *a*.

b) שְׁמוּט *compressed*, Bekh. 43 *b*; סְמוּךְ *laid on hands*, Col. MS., Zeb. 6 *a*; רְקוּעַ *extended*, M. Q. 28 *a*, ʿArûkh; מְזוּג *mixed*, Yômâ 81 *b*; נְהוּר *shines*, Sabb. 116 *b*; תְּבוּר *broken*, *ibid*, 67 *a*.—*e.* חֲרוּכָא *burnt*, M. MS., B. M. 85 *a*, eds. Sanh. 37 *a*.

Sing. fem.—§267. *a*) לְבִישָׁא *clad*, Ber. 20 *a*; עֲבִידָא *used*, *apt*, Ned. 91 *a*; צְרִיכָא *is necessary*, *ibid.*; טְרִיחָא *troublesome*, *ibid.* 25 *a*; *e.* צְמִירְתָּא *burning*, Sabb. 67 *a*, Pes. 25 *b*; חְרִיפְתָּא *sharp*, Col. MS., Meg. 7 *a* (voc.); קְלִישְׁתָּא *weak*, Yeb. 113 *a*.

b) שְׁקוּלָא *is taken*, Sabb. 63 *b*; כְּרוּכָה *wrapped up*, Gitt. 68 *a*

[1] *Cf.* §224.

[2] The ל is sometimes omitted: שָׁמְעַ *has heard*, Ber. 5 *b*, for לֵיהּ שָׁמְעַ; סְנָיְאָה *hated*, Sabb. 26 *a* (the following לָהּ is object).

[3] צְרִיךְ in *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §20.

[4] תָּאפִיר *sewed*, Alfâsî Yeb. end of Pereq 12.

Plur. masc.—§268. *a*) שְׁקִילִין *are taken*, Sabb. 63 *b*; פְּלִיגִי *differ*, Ned. 7 *a*; טְרִפִּי *spotted*, *ibid.* 25 *a*; חֲשִׁיבִי *of importance*, Ber. 16 *b*; עֲבִדִי *used to*, Keth. 60 *b*; נְגִידוּ *stretched out*, Sabb. 138 *a*; תְּקִילִין *of full weight*, B. M. 44 *b*; שְׁכִיחִי *are found, occur*, M. Q. 12 *b*.

b) שְׁקוּלֵי *ambiguous*, ʿAr. 18 *b*; חֲשׁוּבֵי *noble*, A. Z. 10 *b*; גְּמוּרֵי *absolute*, Ber. 61 *b*, Sôtā 31 *a*; שְׁמוּטֵי *long-necked*, Keth. 60 *b*, תְּקוּלֵי *of full weight*, B. M. 69 *b*; סְבוּרֵי *hold*, B. Q. 112 *b*.[1]

Plur. fem.—§269. *a*) עֲבִידָן *are made*, Ned. 38 *b*; נְסִיבָן *married*, Ber. 43 *b*; כְּתִיבָן, פְּתִיבָן *written*, Ned. 37 *b*, 38 *a*; *e.* חֲסִיכָתָא *poor, bad*, Pes. 48 *a*; חֲשִׁילָתָא *mashed*, Ḥull. 93 *a*; and with double plural ending, צְנִיעָתָן *modest, chaste*, Sabb. 140 *b*.

Participles with Enclitic Subject-pronouns.[2]—§270. The participles are often combined with the pronouns of the first and the second persons into one word to form the present tense. The third person, as in the perfect, is understood with the bare participle.[3] When thus combined they have the following forms:

Singular masculine.			*Singular feminine.*		
קָטֵיל אֲנָא	becomes	קָטֵלְנָא	קָטְלָא אֲנָא	becomes	קָטְלָנָא
קָטִיל אֲנָא	"	קְטִילְנָא	קְטִילָא אֲנָא	"	[קְטִילְנָא][4]
קָטֵיל אַתְּ	"	קָטְלַתְּ	קָטְלָא אַתְּ	"	קָטְלָתְּ
קְטִיל אַתְּ	"	קְטִילַתְּ	קְטִילָא אַתְּ	"	קְטִילָתְּ

Plural masculine.[5]

קָטְלִין אֲנַן	becomes	קָטְלִינָן[6]
קְטִילִין אֲנַן	"	קְטִילִינָן
קָטְלִין אַתּוּן	"	קָטְלִיתּוּן[7]
קְטִילִין אַתּוּן	"	קְטִילִיתּוּן

[1] פְּלִיגִין *Igg. Šerīrā*, p. 12.

[2] *Cf.* Nöldeke, *MG.* §175 *a*, *SG.* §269, *NSG.* §100 *sq.*; Duval, *Gram. Syr.*, §133; McCurdy "Assyr. Permansive," in *Transact.* of the Leyden Congress of Orientalists (1885); Zimmern "Das Verhältnis, des assyr. Permansivs zum semitischen Perfect und zum ägyptischen 'Pseudoparticip,'" *ZA.*, V., 1–22.

[3] But *cf.* מְצָטְרְכִינָן *they need*, Alfāsī, B. M. 49 *r*; אָמְרִינָן *they say, one says*, ʿArūkh, Šebu. 46 *a*; עָבְדִינָן *one does*, *TG.* ed. Cassel, §91. All these forms, however, are doubtful; the ו might denote קָמֵץ (§70, note 3) and the pronouns be the first person plural. The form נוּן־ may also be a by-form of נוּ־ as נָן־ is of נָא־ (§271 *c*, note).

[4] For bracketed forms I have no examples.

[5] The plural feminine does not occur with enclitic pronouns.

[6] We should expect the last syllable to be נַן, but the traditional pronunciation is נָן.

[7] Whether the ת retains its daghesh is impossible to tell. In the Targumim it is usually rāphè, but sometimes retains daghesh.

For variations in form of pronouns *cf.* §98 and examples below (§§271–2). For plural 1st person used for singular *cf.* §106.

References.—§271. *a*) עָבִידְנָא *I do*, Ned. 5 *a;* טָעִימְנָא *I taste*, *ibid.* 22 *b;* זָבִינְנָא *I buy*, Er. 100 *b;* זָיְינָא *I feed, support*, Gitt. 56 *a* (§50, 6); זָבִינָא *I buy*, B. B. 30 *b;* נָדַרְנָא *I vow*, Ned. 9 *a;* שָׁמַעְנָא *I hear*, *ibid.* 72 *b;* שָׂבִיעְנָא *I am satiated*, Col. MS., Meg. 7 *b* (§73); פָּשְׁטִינָא *I explain*, Taan. 21 *a* (§106); שָׁקְלִינָא *I take*, *ibid.* 24 *a*, and frequently; אֵזְלִין אֲנָא *I will go*, Me'ilā 17 *b*;[1] נָהֲרְנָא *I shout*, 'Arûkh, R. H. 34 *b*, eds. נָהֵרְנָא; this form is perhaps the passive participle.

b) יְדַעְתְּ *knowest*, עָבַרְתְּ *trespassest*, Ned. 23 *a;* סָבַרְתְּ *art of opinion*, Ber. 2 *b;* שָׁמַעְתְּ *thou hearest*, Ned. 3 *b;* but טָעֵימְתְּ *thou tastest*, *ibid.* 22 *b*, with retention of second stem-vowel; קָטְלִית *killest*, Sanh. 48 *b.*—*f.* גָּבְיָאת *collectest payment*, Keth. 43 *b.*

c) שָׁמְעִינָן *we hear*, Ned. 13 *a*, 81 *b*, Ber. 17 *b;* עָבְדִינָן *we do*, R. H. 47 *a;* פָּסְקִינָן *we divide*, Ber. 12 *b;* גָּמְרִינָן *we begin*, *ibid.* 14 *b;* גָּזְרִינָן *we decree*, Ned. 10 *b;* עָסְקִינָן *we treat*, *ibid.* 59 *a.*—דָּכְרָנָן *we remember*, B. M. 8 *b* (§232); רְחֵמִינִי *we* (I) *love*, Sanh. 89 *b;* קָטְלִין *we kill*, M. MS., Sanh. 95 *a.*[2]

d) עָרְבִיתּוּן *ye pledge yourselves*, Sanh. 39 *b;* תְּמְהִיתּוּ *ye are astonished*, *ibid.* 95 *a;* אֲמְרִיתּוּן, Ned. 81 *a;* אֲמְרִיתּוּן *ye say*, *ibid.* 25 *a;* חֲכְמִיתּוּ *ye are wise*, Ber. 56 *a;* עָבְדִיתּוּן *ye do*, B. M. 73 *a;* שָׁקְלִתּוּ *ye take*, Sanh. 110 *a*, B. M. 109 *a.*

§272. *a*) גְּמִירְנָא *I have learned*, R. H. 23 *a*, Sabb. 63 *a;* דְּכִירְנָא *I remember*, Taan. 20 *b;* נְהִירְנָא *I remember*, *ibid.* 19 *b;* חֲשִׁיבְנָא *I am esteemed*, Ber. 18 *b;* חֲשִׁידְנָא *I am suspected*, Ber. 5 *b.*

b) חֲשִׁיבַתְּ *thou art esteemed*, Ber. 18 *b;* צְרִיכַתְּ *thou art in need of*, B. M. 33 *a*, Ber. 13 *b;* פְּטִירַתְּ *art free*, *ibid.* 11 *a;* רְגִילִית *thou art wont*, Meg. 28 *a;* עֲצִיבַתְּ *thou art pained*, Taan. 25 *a* (*f.*).

[1] *Cf.* Nöldeke, *SG.*, §64 B.

[2] In later literature: הֲוָה אָזְלִין *I was going*, Še'ēlt., ch. 1; מָהֲלִינָן *we circumcise*, *ibid.*, ch. 93; יָהֲבִינוּ *we give*, *MV.*, p. 85; קָטְלִינוּ *we kill*, *ibid.* 76.

c) עַסִיקְנָן, Ned. 38 *b*, 63 *b*; עַסִיקְנִין *we are busy, treat*, Pes. 90 *b*; עַדִיפְנִין *we are better, worthier*, M. MS. Taan. 24 *a*; פְּלִיגְנָן *we differ*, Er. 10 *b*; נְקִיטְנָן *we accept, assume*, Ned. 41 *a*; גְּרִירְנָן *follow*, Taan. 24 *a*; גְּמִירְנָן *we learned*, ed. Ven., Ber. 62 *a*.[1]

d) חֲשִׁיבִיתּוּ *ye are worthy*, Taan. 15 *b*; צְרִיכְתּוּ *ye need*, Sabb. 121 *b*; פְּלִיגִיתּוּ *ye differ*, Er. 10 *b*; גְּמִירִיתּוּ *you have learned*, Col. MS., Pes. 66 *a*.

Pa"ēl.—*Perfect.*—§273. The vowel of the first syllable is generally *ă*, before gutturals mostly *i* or *ē* (§68). The vowel of the second syllable tends to stay in all the forms.

Pa"ēl.

Perfect—				
Sing. 3d masc. . .	קַטֵּל	קַטֵּיל, (טִי)	קַטּוֹל	
3d fem. . . .	קַטְּלָא	קַטֵּילָא, ־ח	——	
2d masc. . .	קַטַּלְתְּ	קַטֵּילְתְּ	——	
1st com. . .	קַטַּלִי[ת]	קַטֵּילִי[ת]	קַטּוֹלִי[ת]	
Plur. 3d masc.	קַטְּלוּ	קַטְּלוּ	——	
		קַטּוֹל		
2d masc. . .	קַטַּלְתּוּ[ן], ־יתוּ[ן]	קַטֵּילְתּוּ[ן], ־יתוּ[ן]	——	
1st com. .	קַטַּלְנָא	קַטֵּילְנָא, ־לִינָן	——	
	קַטַּלְנָן, ־נָ	קַטֵּלְנָן, ־לִינָן	——	
Imperfect—				
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לְקַטֵּל, לְ׳	לְקַטֵּיל, לְ׳	לְקַטּוֹל, לְ׳	
3d fem. . . .	תְּקַטֵּל	תְּקַטֵּיל	תְּקַטּוֹל	
2d masc. . .	תְּקַטֵּל	תְּקַטֵּיל	——	
1st com. . .	אֲקַטֵּל, אָ׳	אֲקַטֵּיל, אָ׳	אֲקַטּוֹל	
3d masc. . .		לְקַטְּלוּ[ן], לְ׳		
3d fem. . . .		לְקַטְּלָן, לְ׳		
2d masc. . .		תְּקַטְּלוּ[ן]		
1st com. . .	נְקַטֵּל	נְקַטֵּיל, נִיק׳	נְקַטּוֹל	

[1] גְּמִירְנָא, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §377.

Pa''ēl.—Continued.

IMPERATIVE—			
Sing. 2d masc. . .	קַטֵּל	קַטֵּיל	קַטּוֹל
2d fem. . . .	—	קַטִּילִי	—
Plur. 2d masc. . .	—	קַטִּילוּ, (פ)	—
INFINITIVE		קַטּוֹלֵי	
PARTICIPLE—			
Active, sing. masc.	מְקַטֵּל	מְקַטֵּיל	(מְקַטּוֹל)
fem. .		מְקַטְּלָא	
Passive, sg. masc.		מְקַטַּל	
fem. .		מְקַטְּלָא	

EXAMPLES FOR PA''ĒL.

PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§274. *a*) [B קַטֵּל, קַטַּל; T קַטֵּיל; M קאטיל; S ܩܛܝܠ].—קַבֵּיל Ned. 49 *b*; זַבִּין B. M. 65 *a*; שַׁלִּים *he finished*, Sabb. 118 *b*; סַלִּית *he scraped*, *ibid.* 74 *b*; פַּלִּיס *he tore, broke*, B. Q. 19 *b*; סָרִיךְ *he climbed up*, *ibid.* 20 *a*; בָּרִיךְ *he said grace*, Ber. 53 *b*; יַיבֵּם Yeb. 18 *b*.[1]

b) [M קאטאל; S ܫܠܚ].—שַׁדַּר *he sent*, Ned. 49 *b*, Ber. 58 *a*; שַׁקַּר *he told a lie*, Sanh. 98 *a*; סַלַּק *he removed*, Ber. 42 *a*; שַׁאוַּר *he jumped*, M. MS., B. M. 84 *a*; צִיעֵר (or צִיעֵּר) *he vexed*, Qidd. 70 *b* (§ 8); מִיעֵט B. Q. 51 *b*; נִיהַם *roared*, Ḥull. 59 *b*; עֵירַב ʿEr. 75 *b*; פֵּירַשׁ *he separated*, Sôtā 4 *b*; אֵירַע *it happened*, Sabb. 87 *b* (M. MS. עֵירַע).

c) תַּקֵּן ed. Ven. Ber. 22 *b*.

d) By analogy with ל״י: הַדְּרִי *he turned around*, V. L., A. Z. 38 *b*; שַׁקְּרַאי *he lied*, Yeb. 55 *a*.[2]

3d sing. fem.—§275. *a*) [T קַטִּילַת; Pal. Talm. קטלת, קטלה; M קאטלאת; S ܩܛܝܠܬ].—בַּשִּׁילָה *she cooked*, Ned. 66 *b*; קַבִּילָא *ibid.*; צַבִּיתָה *she prepared*, Nidd. 37 *a*.[3]

b) שַׁדְּרָא *she sent*, Col. MS., Meg. 16 *a* (voc.).

2d sing. com.—§276. *a*) [T קַטִּילְתָּ(א); M קאטילת; S ܩܛܝܠܬ].—קַבִּילְתְּ Sanh. 102 *b*; קַבֵּלְתְּ *acceptest*, Pes. 86 *b*.

[1] פָּארִישׁ *Igg. Šerîrâ*, p. 26; זַבִּין *she sold*, *HG.*, ed. pr. 73 *d*; קַבִּיל *SM.*, No. XXIII. (voc.).

[2] This word is usually taken to be a noun.—שַׁקְּרִי *he lied*, *SM.*, No. LIII.

[3] In later literature: שַׁלִּימַת *she completed*, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 74.

b) שַׁדַּרְתְּ Qidd. 72 *b*; זַמַּנְתָּא *thou didst invite*, F. MS., Sanh. 109 *b*.

1st sing. com.—§277. *a*) [B קַטְלֵת; T קַטִּילִית; Pal. Talm. קטלית; M קאטלית; S ܩܛܝܠܝܬ].—קַבִּילִית B. Q. 70 *a*; שַׁמִּיתִי *I put under ban*, *ibid.* 17 *a*; קָרֵיבִית *I brought near*, Sabb. 89 *b*; חַנֵּיפִי *I flattered*, M. Q. 17 *a*; בָּרֵיכִי *I said grace*, Ber. 49 *a*.

b) [T קַטַּלִית].—שַׁדַּרִי *I sent*, Meg. 7 *b* ('En Y. שַׁדַּרִית); בַּצַּרִי *I gave for less*, B. M. 103 *b*; נַבַּחִי *I made a noise*, Ber. 57 *b*.[1]

c) (כַּנּוֹפִיכוּ *I have gathered you*, B. Q. 113 *b*).[2]

3d plur. masc.—§278. *a*) [B קַטְלוּ; T קַטִּילוּ; Pal. Talm. קטלון; M קאטילון; S ܩܛܝܠܘ, ܩܛܠ].—קַבִּילוּ Gitt. 70 *b*; סַלִּיקוּ *they removed*, Ber. 42 *a*; קָרִיבוּ *they brought near*, Qidd. 81 *a*; שַׁמִּיתוּ *they put under ban*, M. Q. 16 *a*; תַּקִּינוּ *they instituted*, Ned. 10 *a*, Gitt. 49 *b*; תַּקִּינִי B. B. 172 *b*.

b) [T קַטַּלוּ; S ܩܛܠ, ܩܛܝܠ].—שַׁדַּרוּ *they sent*, Ber. 42 *a*; שַׁבַּחוּ *they praised*, Gitt. 56 *a*; בַּצַּרוּ *they diminished*, Taan. 24 *b*; שַׁדַּרִי *ibid.* 23 *b*; צַעֲרִי *they vexed*, Keth. 61 *b*.[3]

c) תַּקּוּן M. Q. 3 *b*, Pes. 30 *b*; תִּיקּוּן Pes. 116 *b*, Yeb. 31 *b*; שַׁדּוּר C. MS., Meg. 7 *a* (voc.); עַקּוּר *they removed*, Ḥull. 59 *b*; סָרּוּ *they clung to*, Bêçā 11 *a*.

2d plur. masc.—§279. *a*) [T קַטִּילְתּוּן; M קאטילתון; S ܩܛܝܠܬܘܢ].—קַבִּילְתּוּ Sanh. 101 *b*, Gitt. 70 *b*; זַבִּינְתּוּ *you sold*, A. Z. 71 *a*: הַפְּכִיתּוּ *turn ye*, M. MS., Pes. 40 *a*.[4]

b) פַּטַּרְתּוּן Ber. 54 *b*; פַּטַּרִיתּוּ M. MS., *ibid.*; סַכַּנְתּוּן *ye would have endangered*, Ber. 25 *a*.

1st plur. com.—§280. *a*) [T קַטִּילְנָא; M קאטילנין; S ܩܛܝܠ–, ܩܛܠ].—קַבִּילְנָא *we took upon*, Taan. 23 *a*; בָּרֵיכְנָא *we* (*I*) *said grace*, Ber. 58 *b*, eds.; בָּרֵיכִינָן *ibid.*; תַּקַּנָן *we instituted*, Succ. 4 *b*; בַּשַּׁלִינָן *we cooked*, B. B. 73 *b*; בָּרֵיכוֹן (*I*) *we pronounced a benediction*, M. MS., Ber. 58 *b*.[5]

b) פַּטַּרְנָא *we freed*, Qidd. 52 *b*; נַקַּרִינָא *we cleaned*, B. B. 74 *b*.

[1] שַׁדַּרִית, שַׁבַּקִית, פַּטַּרִית, *HG.* ed. pr. 47 *c*.

[2] תָּרוֹכִית, *HG.* 47 *c*.

[3] שַׁדְּרוּ *they sent*, *SM.*, No. LIII. (voc.).

[4] *Cf.* §§205, 232, *a*;—פָּרִישְׁתּוּן, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §210.

[5] פִּרִישְׁנָא, *TR.*, II. 52; תַּקִּינַן *ibid.* 5.

IMPERFECT.—§281. In the imperfect the vowel of the first stem-consonant is, with a few exceptions, always *ă*. In the 2d and the 3d person plural the second stem-vowel is invariably omitted.

3d sing. masc.—§282. *a*) [BT יִקְטֹל(י); M ניקאטיל; S נפֿקֶל]. —לְיָרֵישׁ *he divorces*, Ar. 23 *a*; לְיִנְגֵּיב *dries*, Sabb. 141 *a*; נְבָרֵיךְ *says grace*, Ber. 46 *a*; נְשַׁלֵּם *pays*, B. Q. 108 *a*; נִיזַבִּין *sells*, Qidd. 20 *a*; נְקַבֵּיל *receives*, B. B. 4 *a*; לְיֵיבֵם Yeb. 18 *b*; לִיבַּשֵּׁיל Gitt. 69 *a*.

b) לִישַׁדַּר *sends*, Sabb. 140 *b*, Ber. 51 *b*; לִיגַּלַּח *shaves*, *ibid.* 110 *b*; לִיזַמַּר *sings*, Sanh. 7 *a*; נֵיהַדַּר *places*, B. M. 84 *a*; לְשַׁלַּח *strips*, Sanh. 109 *b*.

c) לִיזַבּוֹן *sells*, Sanh. 95 *a*; לִיבְזוֹל *shakes*, M. MS., Sabb. 66 *b*. לְבָרוֹךְ ed. Ven. Ber. 36 *a*; לְזַבּוֹן ʿEn Y. ʿAr. 30 *b*, eds. לִיזַבַּן.[1]

3d sing. fem.—§283. *a*) [BT תִּקְטֹל(י); M תיקאטיל; S תּפֿקֶל]. —תְּשַׁמֵּשׁ B. Q. 20 *b*, Sabb. 110 *a*.

b) תְּשַׁדַּר *sends*, Ber. 18 *b*; תְּשַׁלַּח *takes off*, Sabb. 110 *a*.

c) תְּקַדּוֹשׁ Nidd. 6 *b*.

2d sing. masc.—§284. *a*) תְּקַבֵּיל B. B. 21 *a*; תְּשַׁפֵּיץ *thou repairest*, Yeb. 63 *a*; תְּזַבֵּין *sellest*, B. M. 107 *a*.

b) תְּעַקַּר *thou pullest out*, Pes. 113 *a*; תְּאַמַּר *thou believest*, Gitt. 30 *b*.

1st sing. com.—§285. *a*) [B אֶקְטֹל; T אֶקְטִיל, איקטיל; M איקאטיל; S אפֿקֶל].—אֲקַבֵּל Ber. 28 *a*; אֲקַבֵּיל Ḥag. 5 *b*; אֲבָרֵיךְ Ber. 48 *a*; אֵיבָרֵיךְ Ber. 22 *b*, M. MS.; אֵיצַבִּית *I prepare*, Ḥull. 60 *a*; אֵיקַשֵּׁיט Qidd. 40 *a*.

b) אֵישַׁדַּר *I send*, Sanh. 98 *a*; אֵיעַקַּר *I uproot*, Ber. 54 *b*.

c) אֵיזַבּוֹן *I sell*, B. M. 108 *a*.[2]

3d plur. masc.—§286. [BT יִקְטְלוּן; M ניקאטלון; S נפֿקֶל]. —לִיקַבְּלוּ Gitt. 7 *a*; לִיקַדְּמוּ Meg. 4 *a*; לְצַעֲרוּ *vex*, Ber. 28 *a*; לִיבָּרְכוּ *say grace*, *ibid.* 50 *a*; לִיתַּקְנוּ *they order*, Gitt. 49 *b*.[3]

3d plur. fem.—§287. [BT יִקְטֹלָן; M (ק)ניקאטלאן; S נפֿקֶל].— לִיעַכְּבָן *they hinder*, Col. MS., Zeb. 40 *a*.

[1] לִיקַדּוֹם, *HG.*, ed. pr. 113 *a*; לְתָרוֹץ, *Igg. Šerirā*, 25.

[2] אִירַזְבּוֹן, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, §9.

[3] לִימְאוֹי *let them give a* שְׁטָר מֵאוֹן, *HG.*, ed. pr. 110 *d*.

1st plur. com.—§288. *a*) [BT נְקַטֵּל(י); S ܢܶܩܛܶܠ].—נִיקַבֵּיל Ḥag. 5 *b*, Yeb. 121 *a*; נְבָרֵיךְ Pes. 103 *b*; נְתַקֵּין *we order*, Hôr. 13 *b*; נְזַמֵּן Ber. 45 *b*.

b) נְשַׁדַּר *we send*, Sanh. 109 *a*.

c) נְבָרוֹךְ Ber. 36 *a*, ed. Ven.

Imperative.—*Sing. masc.*—§289. *a*) [BT קְטֵל(י); M קאטיל; S ܩܛܶܠ].—זַבִּין *sell*, Ber. 62 *b*; שַׁפִּיץ *repair*, Yeb. 63 *a*; קַדֵּים Tam. 27 *b*; קַבֵּיל B. Q. 117 *a*; בָּרֵיךְ Ber. 54 *a*; צַבִּית *prepare*, M. Q. 27 *b*; חַשִּׁיב *count*, Meg. 11 *b*.

b) שַׁדַּר *send*, B. M. 4 *a*; עַשַּׂר *give tithes*, Ned. 44 *b*; אַשַּׁר *believe*, Gitt. 30 *b*.

c) קַבּוֹל Sanh. 48 *b*; זַבּוֹן B. M. 108 *a*.

Sing. fem.—§290. *a*) [T קְטִילִי; S ܩܛܶܠܝ].—בַּשִּׁילִי *cook*, Ned. 66 *b*; שַׁלִּימִי *pay*, B. M. 42 *b*.

Plur. masc.—§291. *a*) [BT קְטֵל(י)וּ; S ܩܛܶܠ,].—צַבִּיתוּ R. H. 17 *a*; זַוִּידוּ *prepare*, A. Z. 17 *a*; קַדִּימוּ *come early*, חַשִּׁיכוּ *come late*, Ber. 8 *a*; נַגִּידוּ *spread out*, Er. 94 *a*; with loss of stem-vowel: שַׁתְּקוּ Gitt. 84 *b*; זַבְּנוּ B. B. 22 *a*.

Infinitive.—§292. The usual form of the infinitive is קַטּוֹלֵי; the other forms occur but sporadically. The change of the first vowel to *i* is rare.

a) qattûlê:[1] שַׁמּוֹתֵי Col. MS., Meg. 4 *a* (voc.);[2] שַׁקּוֹרֵי *to lie*, Sanh. 98 *a*; כַּסּוֹפֵי *ibid.* 42 *a*; שַׁבּוֹחֵי *to give praise*, Pes. 2 *a*; שַׁדּוֹרֵי *to send*, Sabb. 108 *b*; בָּרוֹכֵי *to bless*, צָעוֹרֵי *to vex*, M. Q. 9 *b*; קָרוֹבֵי Col. MS., Zeb. 86 *a*; לְהַדּוֹשֵׁי Ber. 29 *b*; לַבּוֹנֵי *to lie flat*, Sabb. 104 *a*.

b) qittûlê:[1] לְבִיצּוֹרֵי *to subtract*, Zeb. 37 *b*; לְתִיקּוֹנֵי *to do the proper thing*, B. M. 108 *a*; תֵּירוּצֵי *to explain*, Zeb. 59 *a*; עִירוּבֵי *to make an ʿêrûb*, Er. 75 *b*; פִּיגּוֹלֵי *to make unfit*, Zeb. 42 *a*, for לְעִיצּוֹלֵי Pes. 85 *a*, read with eds. and MSS. לאיעצולי.

c) qattûlâ: לְזַבּוֹנָא *to sell*, A. Z. 30 *b*; לְסַפּוֹקָא *to doubt*, Ned. 2 *b*; חַסּוֹרָא *to be wanting*, Hôr. 11 *b*.

d) qattilê: נַגִּידֵי *to lash*, Pes. 52 *a*, B. M. 86 *a*.

e) qattâlê: לַבָּנֵי *to lie flat*, M. MS., Sabb. 104 *a*.

[1] *Cf.* Barth, *Nominalbildung*, §101 *sq.*

[2] Yemen MSS. have sometimes ◌ֵ or ◌ֶ for ◌ִ, which is the Arabic way of vocalization.

f) qattâlâ: לְצַלָּחָא *to cut, split*, B. Q. 113*b* (but *cf.* Levy's Dictionary, *s. v.*).

g) qattil: לְיַיבֵּם Yeb. 39*b*; חַבֵּיל *to wound*, B. Q. 87*a*; לְבָרֵךְ *to say grace*, Ber. 53*b*; לְשָׁרֵשׁ *to uproot*, B. B. 82*a*.

h) qattûl: לְבָרוֹךְ Ber. 22*b*. (This might also be a form qattâl.)

i) maqattil: לְמַשָּׁרֵשׁ B. B. 82*a*.

j) maqattal: מְפַכַּח *to become darker*, Nidd. 20*b*; לְמַרַקַּע *to patch*, ʿArûkh, B. B. 20*a*.

k) maqattâlâ: לְמִיפַּטָּרָא *to free*, Qidd. 64*b*.

l) qattâlûîê: כַּבָּרוּיֵי *to fumigate with sulphur*, B. Q. 93*b*; שָׁרָשׁוּיֵי *to benefit*, M. Q. 12*a*; הַדָּרוּיֵי *to turn*, V. L., A. Z. 38*b*.

m) qattâlûî: שָׁרָשׁוּי, ʿArûkh, M. Q. 12*a*.[1]

Active Participle.—§293. The מ-prefix has sometimes an *i* vowel. At times it is dropped (§58), especially with enclitic pronouns.

Sing. masc.—§294. *a*) מְפָרֵשׁ *explains*, Ned. 2*b* (§8); מְשַׁמֵּת *puts under ban*, *ibid.* 7*b*; מְתָרֵץ *explains*, *ibid.* 34*a*; מְזַבֵּין *sells*, *ibid.* 31*b*; מְבַטֵּיל *neutralizes*, Pes. 115*b*; מְיַסָּרֵיךְ *clings*, B. M. 71*a*; perhaps also חַבֵּיל *wounds*, M. MS., B. Q. 87*a*; מַדֵּים Ber. 18*b*.[2]

b) מְהַדַּר *returns*, Ned. 33*b*; מְגַלַּח *shaves*, *ibid.* 19*b*; מְפַפַּח *leaves*, ʿArûkh, Meg. 12*b*; מְיַמַּלַּח *rows*, Keth. 85*a*; מְיַעֲבַר B. Q. 101*a*; מְסַדַּר *recites*, Ber. 10*a*, 13*a*; מְיַהַדַּר *seeks*, Ber. 15*a*; מְשַׂמַּח *makes glad*, Ber. 35*b*.

Sing. fem.—§295. מְכַפְּרָה *atones*, Macc. 11*b*; מְצַעֲרָא *vexes*, Yeb. 63*a*; מְקַשְׁטָא *adorns*, *ibid.* 63*b*; מְהַדְּרָא *turns*, *ibid.*; מְשַׁקְּרָא, מְשַׁקְּרָה, *lies*, Ned. 91*a*; מְפַכְּחָא *makes ineffective*, Ber. 55*a*; מְקָרְבָא *comes near*, B. B. 73*b*; מְיַעְבְּרָא *relents*, Yeb. 63*b*; מְיַקְּדָמָה Ned. 91*a*.

Plur. masc.—§296. מְרַגְּזִין *they anger*, Ned. 21*b*; מְצַעֲרִי *vex*, *ibid.* 23*a*; מְשַׁקְּרִי *tell lies*, R. H. 32*b*; מְסַלְּקִי *remove*, מְבָרְכִי *pronounce benediction*, Ber. 44*b*; מְצַעֲרוּ Taan. 23*b*, 24*b*, Ber. 10*a*;

[1] לְשַׁדּוּרֵי, *SM.*, No. xxv. (voc.); כַּפּוֹרָא, *ibid.* No. lxx.; נַטּוֹרָא, *Še'ēl.*, ed. pr., p. 20; לְבַרוֹכָא, *HG.* 73; לְיַבּוֹמָא, *ibid.* 282; סַלּוֹקִי, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, §28; לְפָרֵשׁ *to explain*, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §290; לְמְבָרִיךְ, *TR.*, II. 9.

[2] מִיכַּנַּח, *HG.*, ed. pr., 133*d*; מְנַקּוֹחַ, *Igg. Šertrâ*, 35.

מְבַעֲתוּ *frighten*, Meg. 29 *a;* מְבַדְּרוּ *scatter, strew*, Gitt. 57 *a;* מְגַנְּבוּ *steal*, Ber. 18 *b;* מִינַטְּרֵי A. Z. 19 *b;* קַדְּמֵי Ber. 18 *b;* שַׁבְּשֵׁי *vine-gardeners*, B. M. 73 *a;* מְשַׁדְּרוּ Pes. 113 *a;* מְשָׁרְשׁוּ *benefit*, M. Q. 12 *a*.[1]

Plur. fem.—§ 297. מְרַמְּזָן *wink*, Sabb. 62 *b;* מְרַחֲשָׁן *move*, Sanh. 67 *b;* מְשַׁחֲנָן *keep warm*, Gitt. 70 *a*.

Passive Participle.—*Sing. masc.*—§ 298. מְיֻחָדַק *squeezed in*, Sabb. 65 *a;* מְפֻשָּׁר *explained*, Ber. 55 *a;* מְפֻנָּק *pampered*, Sabb. 109 *a*, B. Q. 34 *a;* מְחֻסַּר *broken*, מְשֻׁלָּם *entire*, Taan. 25 *a;* מְלֻבָּן *stretched flat*, Sabb. 104 *a;* מְנֻגָּע *is leprous*, Ḥull. 60 *a;* מְקֻרָב *is nearer*, Ber. 44 *b*.

Sing. fem.—§ 299. מְהֻגְנָא *proper*, Taan. 22 *b;* מְחֻסְּרָא Ned. 37 *a*, מְיֻהְסְרָא *wanting*, *ibid.* 23 *b;* מְסֻפְּקָא *doubtful*, Bêçā 4 *b;* מְעֻבְּרָא *intercalated*, Ned. 63 *a; e.* מְעֻבֶּרְתָּא *with young*, B. Q. 47 *a*.

Plur. masc.—§ 300. מְבֻרְכִין Yeb. 63 *a;* מְכֻנְּפִין *are gathered*, Ned. 8 *b;* מְפֻנָּקִי *pampered*, Sabb. 54 *a*, 109 *a;* מְסֻפָּקוּ *doubted*, Qidd. 39 *a;* שְׁלֻחֵי *tired*, Ber. 6 *b;* מְיֻבָּשֵׁי *dried*, A. Z. 28 *b;* מְכֻנְּפֵי *gathered*, Ber. 56 *a;* מְזֻבְּנִי, Alfâsî, B. M., Pereq. IV.

Plur. fem.—§ 301. מְקֻרְבָן *are near*, Sabb. 104 *a;* מְחֻלָּקָן *are separated*, Keth. 5 *b;* מְסֻרָּגָאן *placed with interruption*, B. B. 73 *a;* מְבֻדָּרָן *scattered*, Ber. 56 *a;* מְעֻשָּׂרָן *are tithed*, Ḥull. 7 *b*.

Participles with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.—*Active Participle.*—§ 302. *a*) מְבָרֵיכְנָא Ber. 53 *b;* מְהַדְּרָנָא *I repeat*, *ibid.;* מְהַדְּרָנָא *will answer*, Sanh. 91 *a* (f.); מְשַׁדְּרָנָא *I send*, Sabb. 108 *b*.

b) מְפָרְשַׁתְּ *thou explainest*, Ḥull. 58 *a;* מְבָרְכַתְּ Ber. 53 *b;* מְגָרְשַׁתְּ *divorcest*, *ibid.* 56 *a;* מְזַבְּנִית *thou sellest*, B. M. 72 *a;* מְדַבְּרַת *wilt thou lead*, Keth. 63 *a* (f.); מְזַבְּנַתְּ, Alfâsî, B. B. 40 *b*.

c) מְשַׁחְדִינָא *we bribe*, Taan. 24 *a;* מְזַבְּנִינָא *we sell*, Qidd. 59 *a;* מְסַדְּרִינָן *we put in order*, Taan. 14 *a;* מְנַקְּטִינָן *we take*, Ber. 44 *a;* מְקַדְּמִינָן, מְאַחְרִינָן, *ibid.* 52 *a;* מְשַׁתְּקִינָן *we silence*, *ibid.* 33 *a;* מְבָרְכִינָן *ibid.* 36 *a;* קָדְמִינָן Pes. 58 *a;* יְבִמִינָן Yeb. 41 *b*.[2]

[1] קָא מְזַבְּנֵיָא, *HG.* ed. pr. 100 *b*.

[2] מְפָרְשְׁנָא, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, § 91; מְסַלְּקִינִין, *ibid.* § 9.

d) מְחַנְּפִיתוּ *ye favor*, Keth. 84 *b*; מְבָרְכִיתוּ Ber. 42 *a*; מְסַלְּקִיתוּ *ye remove*, B. M. 73 *a*; מְשַׁבְּחִיתוּ Keth. 112 *a*; מְשַׁלְּמִיתוּן M. MS., Sanh. 30 *a*; שַׁלְּמִיתוּן Sanh. 30 *a*; קַבְּלִיתוּ Sabb. 88 *a*; בַּצְּרִיתוּ *ye diminish*, B. M. 77 *a*.[1]

Passive Participle.—§303. *b*) מְפֻקֶּדֶת *thou art bidden*, Ber. 10 *a*; מִיפֻקֶּדֶת Yeb. 65 *b* (f.); מְעֻבֶּרֶת *thou art with child*, B. B. 141 *b*.

c) מְרֻחָקִינָן *we are far*, B. B. 73 *b*; מְפֻקָּדִינָן Yeb. 47 *b*.

d) מְקָרְבִיתוּ *ye are near*, B. B. 65 *a*.

[1] מְקַדֵּישְׁתוּ, *HG.* 44; מְקַבְּלְתוּן, *HG.* ed. pr. 107 *a*.

Aph'ēl.

PERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	אַקְטַל	אַקְטֵיל	אַקְטוֹל
3d fem. . . .	אַקְטַלָא, ־ת	אַקְטֵילָא, ־ת, (ט)	אַקְטוֹלָא, ־ת
2d masc. . .	אַקְטַלְתְּ, (ט)	אַקְטַלְתְּ, (ט)	——
2d fem. . . .	אַקְטַלְתְּ	——	——
1st com. . .	אַקְטַלִי[ת]	אַקְטֵילִי[ת]	אַקְטוֹלִי[ת]
Plur. 3d masc.	אַקְטַלוּ	אַקְטִילוּ	אַקְטוּלוּ
		אַקְטוּל	
3d fem. . . .	אַקְטַלָן	אַקְטִילָן	——
2d masc. . .	אַקְטַלְתּוּן	אַקְטֵילְתּוּן, (ט)	——
1st com.	אַקְטַלְנָא, אַקְטַלַן,	אַקְטִילְנָן,	——
	אַקְטַלְנָן, אַקְטַלְנָן	אַקְטִלְנָן	——
IMPERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לַקְטַל, (לִי׳, נַ׳, נִי׳)	לַקְטֵיל, (לִי׳, נַ׳, נִי׳)	——
3d fem. . . .	תַּקְטַל	תַּקְטֵיל	——
2d masc. . .	תַּקְטַל	תַּקְטֵיל	——
1st com. . .	אַקְטַל	אַקְטֵיל	——
Plur. 3d masc. . .		לַקְטְלוּ[ן], (לִי׳, נִי׳)	
3d fem. . . .		לַקְטְלָן, (לִי׳, נִי׳)	
2d masc. . .		תַּקְטְלוּ[ן], (טִי׳)	
1st com. . .	נַקְטַל	נַקְטֵיל	——
IMPERATIVE—			
Sing. 2d masc. . .	אַקְטַל	אַקְטֵיל	——
2d fem. . . .	——	אַקְטִילִי	——
Plur. 2d masc. . .	אַקְטַלוּ, ־טוּל	אַקְטִילוּ[ן]	אַקְטוּלוּ
INFINITIVE		אַקְטוֹלֵי	
PARTICIPLE—			
Active, sing. masc.	מַקְטַל	מַקְטִיל	——
fem. .	מַקְטְלָא	מַקְטִילָא	——
Passive, sg. masc.		מַקְטַל	
fem. .		מַקְטְלָא	

EXAMPLES FOR APH'ĒL.

PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§304. *a*) [B הַקְטֵל; TM אַקְטֵיל; S ܐܰܦܩܛܶܝܠ].—אַסְהֵיד *he testified*, Ber. 58 *a*; אַדְלֵיק *he lit*, Sabb. 21 *b*; אַפְקֵיד *entrusted*, Šebu. 45 *b*; אַכְרֵיז Ned. 39 *b*; אַשְׁקֵיל *caused to pass over*, Sanh. 77 *b*; אֵיזְקֵן (§68) *grew old*, Zeb. 59 *a*; אַתְלֵיעַ *became worm-eaten*, Macc. 7 *b*; אִישְׁתֵּין 'En Y. Bekh. 44 *b*.

b) אַשְׁגַּח *he looked at*, Ber. 28 *a*; אַהְדַּר Ned. 41 *a*; אַרְוַח *made profit*, B. Q. 50 *a*; אַשְׁכַּח *found*, B. M. 23 *b*.[1]

c) אַסְרוֹחַ *putrefied*, Nāz. 50 *a*; (אַשְׁמוֹעִינָן *causes us to hear*, Ned. 73 *a*, Meg. 7 *a*, R. H. 6 *a*, Taan. 30 *a*).

3d sing. fem.—§305. *a*) [B הַקְטְלַת; T אקטילת, אקטלת; M אקטילאת, אקטלאת; S ܐܰܦܩܛܶܠܬ].—אַתְחֵילַת *she began*, Gitt. 73 *a*, Yeb. 79 *b*; אַרְגִּישַׁת Nidd. 57 *b*; אַרְגִּילַת Yeb. 26 *a*; אַחְמֵיצַת Alf. Pes. 7 *a*. With loss of stem-vowel: אַרְגְּשַׁת Nidd. 57 *b*; אִיקְרַבַת Yeb. 39 *b* (legal style).

b) אַשְׁגַּחַא M. Q. 27 *b*; אַסְרַחַא Tem. 31 *a*.[2]

c) אַזְקְנַת *she became old*, Nidd. 47 *a*.

2d sing. masc.—§306 *a*. [B הַקְטַלְתָּ; T אַקְטֵילְתָּא, אקטילת; Pal. Talm. אקטלת; M אקטילת; S ܐܰܦܩܛܶܠܬ].—אַפְסַדְתָּ *didst spoil*, Keth. 61 *b*; אַסְהַדְתָּ *didst witness*, Pes. 113 *b*; אַתְקַפְתָּ *madest difficult*, B. B. 129 *a*; אַהְדַּרְתָּ *didst turn*, Pes. 86 *b*; אַשְׁכַּחְתָּ *didst find*, B. M. 63 *a*.[3]

2d sing. fem.—§306 *β*. אַרְבַּעְתְּ *didst place*, B. Q. 114 *a*.

1st sing. com.—§307. *a*) [B הַקְטַלְתִּי; T אַקְטֵילִית; Pal. Talm. אקטלית; M אקטילית, אקטלית; S ܐܰܦܩܛܶܠܬ].—אַרְגִּישִׁית *I stirred up*, Sanh. 95 *a* (Palest.); אַחְזֵיקִי *I gained claim to possession*, B. B. 41 *a*; אַחְזֵיקְ *I supported*, Ned. 22 *a*; אַרְחֵיקְ *I have removed*, B. B. 26 *a*; אַשְׁלֵימִת *I have delivered*, Taan. 29 *a*; אִיחֲרִיבִית *I have destroyed*, 'En Y. *ibid.* 25 *a*.[4]

b) אַשְׁפַּחִי Sabb. 140 *b*, B. Q. 20 *b*; אַבְרַחִי *I chased away*, B. M. 108 *b*; אַהְדְּרִי Sanh. 95 *a*.

3d plur. masc.—§308. *a*) [B הַקְטִלוּ; T אַקְטִילוּ; Pal. Talm. אקטלון; M אקטיל; S ܐܰܦܩܛܶܠ, ܐܰܦܩܛܶܠܘ].—אַקְרִיבוּ Zeb. 86 *a*; אַסְהִידוּ

[1] Whether אַשְׁכַּח is originally Qal, as Kautzsch holds (*Gramm. des bibl. Aram.*, p. 174), or Aph'ēl, as Nöldeke (*GGA.* 1884, p. 1019) asserts, is immaterial as regards the form.

[2] אַשְׁבַּחַת, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §388.

[3] אַחְזַקְתְּ, *HG.* ed. pr. 102 *b*.

[4] אַפְקִידִי, *HG.* ed. pr. 83 *c*; אַחְרִיבַת, *SM.* No. v. *a* (voc.); אַכְעִיסַת, *ibid.* No. xxiii (voc.).

Sanh. 27 *a*; אַקְדִּירוּ *grew dark*, Pes. 118 *b*; אַקְדִּימוּ *came before*, Ber. 50 *b*; אִירְחִיקוּ *were far away*, Ḥull. 17 *a*. With loss of stem-vowel, by analogy with the participle: אִיקְרְבוּ C. MS., Zeb. 86 *a*; אַסְהֲדִי B. Q. 73 *a*; אַקְדְּמִין Hag. Hat. Sabb. 88 *a*; אַכְרְזוּ Men. 64 *b*.

b) אַשְׁפַּחוּ Ned. 50 *ab*, Sanh. 109 *a*; אַהְדְּרוּ Taan. 23 *b*; אַצְלַחוּ *were successful*, A. Z. 26 *a*.[1]

c) אַשְׁקוּלוּ *they caused to be removed*, Qidd. 81 *a*; (אַפְרוּשִׁינְהוּ *they separated them*, *ibid.* 69 *b*).

d) אַחְמוּר Nidd. 66 *a*; אַצְרִיךְ Gitt. 2 *b*; אַזְמוּן Ber. 50 *b*, 55 *b*; אַכְרוּז Qidd. 70 *b*; אַהְדּוּר Meg. 14 *b*; אַחְזוּק *have adopted*, Ḥull. 4 *a*.[2]

3d plur. fem.—§309. אַשְׁכַּחָן *have ameliorated*, B. M. 110 *b*; אַשְׁכַּחָן *have found*, Nidd. 48 *a*.[3]

2d plur. masc.—§310. *a*) [הַקְטֵלְתּוּן; T אַקְטֵילְתּוּן; S ܐܶܩܛܰܠܬܽܘܢ].—אַתְרֵיסְתּוּן *ye made war*, Tām. 31 *b*.

b) אַדְכַּרְתּוּן M. MS., B. B. 171 *b*; אַשְׁכַּחְתּוּן Sabb. 67 *a*; אַשְׁכַּחְתּוּ *ye paid attention*, Succ. 31 *a*.

1st plur. com.—§311. *a*) [B הַקְטֵלְנָא; T אַקְטֵילְנָן; M אקטילנין; S ܐܶܩܛܰܠ–, ܐܶܩܛܰܠ].—אַתְחִילְנָן Ber. 15 *a*. With loss of stem-vowel: אַתְחִלְנָן *began*, Ber. 14 *b*; אַכְרְזָנָן Sanh. 26 *b*; אַטְבְּלִינָן Nidd. 30 *a*.

b) אַשְׁכַּחְנָא Pes. 2 *b*; אַשְׁכַּחַן Ned. 79 *a*; אַשְׁכַּחְנָן C. MS., Zeb. 68 *b*; אַשְׁכַּחִינָן Sabb. 30 *b*; אַשְׁכַּחִין Hôr. 10 *a*.[4]

Imperfect.—*3d sing. masc.*—§312. *a*) [B יְהֵקְטֵל; T יַקְטֵל; M נאקטיל; S ܢܶܩܛܶܠ].—לַכְרֵיז Qidd. 81 *a*; נַמְתִּיק *becomes sweet*, Ber. 39 *a*; לַחֲרִים *puts under ban*, ʿAr. 28 *a*; נַעֲנִיק Qidd. 17 *a*; לִיחְמֵיר *puts under heavy restrictions*, Yeb. 88 *a*; לַפְסִיד B. M. 58 *a*.

b) נִיהֲדַר B. Q. 81 *a*; לִישְׁמַע *ibid.* 49 *b*; נִיעֲבַר Keth. 16 *b*; נְהַדַּר Ber. 6 *a*; לַשְׁבַּע Ned. 25 *a*; נִיפְרַח *lets fly*, A. Z. 10 *a*.[5]

2d sing. masc.—§313. *a*) תַּעֲנִישׁ *punishest*, Ḥag. 5 *b*; תַּדְוִיל *windest skeins*, ʿArûkh, Yeb. 63 *a*; תַּחְמִיץ Pes. 7 *a*.

b) תַּשְׁפַּח *findest*, Sabb. 152 *b*.

1st sing. com.—§314. *a*) אַחְזִיק Taan. 23 *b*.

b) אַהְדַּר *I take my word back*, Sanh. 102 *b*.[6]

[1] אַתְלַעִיק *became worm-eaten*, *Hal. Pes.*, §61.

[2] אַשְׁבּוּחַ, *HG.* ed. pr. 98 *d*; אַצְמוּק, *ibid.* 130 *b*.

[3] אַחְמִיצָן, *HG.* ed. pr. 29 *d*.

[4] אַתְמַהְנָן, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §80; אַתְמִהְנָן, *ibid.* §§ 64, 330.

[5] לַאֲרַוּוח, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §335; לִיתְנַח, *HG.* ed. pr. 35 *d*.

[6] אַבְלַע, *HG.* ed. pr. 94 *c*.

3d plur. masc.—§315 *a*. [B יְהַקְטְלוּן, יַקְטְלוּן; T יַקְטְלוּן, יִקְטְלוּן; M נאקטלון; S ܢܶܩܛܶܠ].—לִיקְדְמוּ Sabb. 151 *b*; לִיחְרְמֵי ʿAr. 28 *a*; לַרְגְּשׁוּן *they notice*, ʿEn Y. Gitt. 56 *a*; נִיקְרְבוּ Šebu. 12 *a*; לִיסְהְדוּ Alf. B. B. 29 *a*.

3d plur. fem.—§315 *β*. לַרְגְּשָׁן Gitt. 56 *a*.

2d plur. masc.—§316. [B תְּהַקְטְלוּן; T תַּקְטְלוּן; M תאקטלון; S ܬܶܩܛܶܠ].—תַּחְזְקוּ *ye claim possession*, B. B. 29 *b*; תַּשְׁגִּיחוּן *ye pay attention*, Ned. 91 *b*; תַּשְׁגְּחוּן Alf. *ibid.*

1st plur. com.—§317. *a*) נַחֲזִיק Taan. 23 *b*.

b) נַשְׁפַּח Sabb. 30 *b*.

Imperative.—*Sing. masc.*—§318. *a*) [B הַקְטֵל; T אַקְטֵיל; S ܐܶܩܛܶܠ].—אַטְמִין *hide*, Sabb. 51 *a*; אַכְרֵיז Ber. 55 *b*; אַקְדֵּים Ned. 3*a*.

b) אַפְרַח *let fly*, Šebu. 30 *b*; אַפְקַר Succ. 44 *b*.

Sing. fem.—§319. *a*) [T אַקְטְלִי, אַקְטִילִי; S ܐܶܩܛܶܠ].—אַקְדִּימִי Sabb. 151 *b*, eds.

Plur. masc.—§320. *a*) [T אַקְטִילוּ; Pal. Talm. אקטלון; S ܐܶܩܛܶܠ, ܐܶܩܛܶܠ].—אַכְרִיזוּ Ned. 40 *a*; אַשְׁלִימוּ *finish*, Ber. 8 *b*; אַתְחִילוּ *begin*, M. Q. 22 *a*; אַגְמִירוּ *teach*, *ibid.* 13 *b*; אַדְרִימוּ *turn south*, B. B. 25 *b*; אַחֲרִיפוּ *come early*, Sanh. 70 *b*; אִיפְּשִׁילוּ *twist*, ʿEn Y., Bekh. 8 *b*.

b) [T אַקְטְלוּ].—אַהְדְּמוּ *arrange the pieces*, Gitt. 67 *b*; אַגְבְּרוּ Sanh. 38 *a*.

c) אַחְזוּקוּ *be strong, hail!* Gitt. 62 *a*; אַגְמוּרוּ *teach ye*, P. MS., Ber. 13 *b*.

d) אַהֲדוּר *return*, Keth. 84 *b*.

Infinitive.—§321. The usual form of the infinitive is אַקְטוֹלֵי; all the other forms occur only sporadically.

a) *ʾaqtûlê*: לְאַכְרוֹזֵי Qidd. 70 *b*; אַסְהוֹדֵי *to testify*, Macc. 6 *a*; אַפְרוֹשֵׁי *to separate*, Qidd. 69 *b*; אַדְכּוֹרֵי *to remind*, Ber. 14 *b*; אַזְהוֹרֵי *to warn*, Macc. 23 *a*; אַתְמוֹהֵי *to be astonished*, B. B. 98 *b*; אַכְחוֹשֵׁי (§23 *c*) *to declare false*, Sanh. 69 *a*; אַרְווֹחֵי *to extend*, B. Q. 50 *a*; לְצַמּוֹחֵי *to cause to grow*, M. Q. 2 *b*; לְחַרּוֹבֵי *to destroy*, Taan. 29 *a* (§50).

b) *ʾiqtûlê*: לְאִיפְּסוֹלֵי *to make unfit*, Pes. 14 *b*; לְאִישְׁתּוֹנֵי *to make water*, B. B. 19 *b*; לְאִיסְטוֹנֵי *to inform against*, Yômâ 20 *b* (some eds.).

c) *ʾaqtûl*: אַתְמוֹהַ V. L., Pes. 17 *a*.[1]

[1] לְאַצְבָּרָה (Meg. 25 *a*) is a quotation of the Targum to Lev. 18:21.

d) maqtûlê: מַמְתּוּחֵי *to stretch*, M. Q. 10 *a* (catch-word of the Tôsephôth); (מַפְטְרִיהוּ Ber. 53 *b*).

e) maqtal: לְמַפְרַח *to let fly*, A. Z. 10 *a;* מַקְדַּם Yômâ 18 *b*.

f) miqtal: מְיַהֲדַר M. MS., B. Q. 81 *b;* לְמִיטְרַח *to trouble*, Meg. 22 *b*.

g) naqtal: נַחֲדַר B. Q. 81 *b*.

h) 'aqtâlûîê: אַסְבְּרוֹיֵי *to teach*, MSS. B. B. 155 *b;* אַדְּמוֹיֵי (contracted from אַהַדְּמוֹיֵי) *to carve, cut to pieces*, A. Z. 38 *b*.[1]

Active Participle.—*Sing. masc.*—§322. *a*) מַתְקִיף Ned. 9 *b;* מַקְדִּישׁ *ibid.* 13 *a;* מַכְרִיז Sabb. 140 *b;* מַסְהִיד Ber. 60 *b;* מַחְמִיר Šebu. 46 *a*.

b) מַדְכַּר *reminds*, Ned. 32 *b;* מַשְׁכַּח *ibid.* 31 *b*, 54 *b;* מַשְׁגַּח Sanh. 106 *b;* מַשְׁמַע *lets hear*, Ned. 5 *a*, 55 *a*;[2] מַתְמַהּ *is astonished*, B. B. 98 *b;* מַכְשַׁר Zeb. 25 *a;* מֵיגְמַר *teaches*, A. Z. 3 *b*.

Sing. fem.—§323. מַפְסְדָה *causes loss*, B. M. 17 *b;* מַנְסְבָא *gives in marriage*, Ned. 23 *a;* מַצְוְחָא *causes pain*, Sabb. 93 *b;* (eds. מַצְוָחָן; *cf.* §226).

Plur. masc.—§324. *a*) מַתְחֲלִי *begin*, Sabb. 144 *a;* מַפְקְרִי *ibid.;* מַחְרְמִי 'Ar. 28 *a;* מַפְחֲשִׁי Sanh. 69 *a* (§23 *c*); מֵיגְמְרִי B. B. 149 *a;* מַרְחֲשׁוּן Sanh. 90 *b;* מַדְכְּרוּ Meg. 18 *b;* מַשְׁכְּחוּ Pes. 112 *b;* מַפְסְדוּ B. M. 109 *a*.

b) מַקְרִיבִין Gitt. 56 *a;* מַחְמִירִי Nidd. 12 *b;* מַכְרִיזִי Pes. 112 *b;* מַפְסְדִי Keth. 67 *b;* by analogy with the perfect.

Plur. fem.—§325. מַתְחַלָן B. M. 16 *a;* מַשְׁחֲרָן *are black*, Ber. 28 *a;* מַפְסְדָן *cause damage*, Taan. 25 *a;* מַצְוְחָן *cause pain*, eds. Sabb. 33 *b*.

Passive Participle.—§326. מַחְזַק Bekh. 12 *b;* מַפְסַק Ḥull. 59 *a;* מַסְמְכָא A. Z. 25 *a;* מַרְגְּלָא Ber. 17 *a;* מַצְרְכִי Nidd. 12 *b;* מַבְלְעָן 'Er. 21 *a;* מַפְסְקָן 'En Y. Ḥull. 59 *a*.

Participles with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.—*Active Participle.*—§327. *a*) מַשְׁלִימְנָא *I deliver*, Ḥag. 5 *a;* מַטְבִּילְנָא *I dip*, Sabb. 108 *b;* מַפְסִידְנָא *I spoil*, *ibid.;* מַרְוְחְנָא *I cause profit*, B. M. 73 *a*.[3]

[1] אַמְתְּנִי *to wait*, *HG.* 324.

[2] קָא מַשְׁ לָן, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §§245, 275; קָאמַשְׁמַע לָן, *ibid.*, §§334, 337, 340, for קָא מַשְׁמַע לָן.

[3] מַשְׁלַמְנָא, *HG.* ed. pr. 70 *d* (f.); מַבְרְחִי, *ibid.* 98 *c*.

b) מַשְׁפַּחְתְּ Ber. 19 *a*; מַשְׁלַחְתְּ *strippest*, *ibid.* 56 *b*; מַחְרַבְתְּ *destroyest*, B. M. 86 *a* (M. MS. מַחְרִבִית).

c) מַפְסְדִינָא B. M. 109 *a*; מַתְחֵלִינָן Ber. 14 *b*; מַהַדְרִינָן *ibid.* 26 *b*; מַטְרְחִינָן Yômâ 19 *a*; מַפְסְקִינָן Pes. 105 *a*; מַחְזְקִינָן Šebu. 46 *b*; מַתְחֲלִינִין M. MS., Pes. 55 *a*; מַהַדְּרִנִי Keth. 103 *b*; מַחְזִיקְנָן ʿAr. 22 *b*.[1]

d) מַחְנִיפְיתוּ *ye flatter*, Keth. 63 *b*; מַחְנִפְיתוּ (or מְחַנְפִיתוּ) *ibid.* 84 *b*; מַהַדְּרִיתוּ *ye turn away*, M. Q. 22 *a*; מַפְסֵדְתוּ B. M. 73 *a*.

[1] מִיטְרִיחִינָן, *TR.* ii, 10; מַשְׁבִּיעָנָן, *ibid.* 38; מַדְכִּירָנָן, *HG.* 44; מַכְרִיזָנָן, *HG.* ed. pr. 125 *d*; מַצְרִיכְנָן, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §231; מַרְחִיקִינִין, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, §91.

Ithpe'ēl and Ithpa''al.

	ITHPE'ĒL.		ITHPA''AL.
ERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	אִיקְּטֵיל, (טוֹ)	אִיקְּטַל	אִיקַּטַל, (טֵי, טוֹ)
3d fem. . . .		אִיקְּטָלָא, ־ת	אִיקַּטְלָא, ־ת, (טֵי)
2d masc. . .		אִיקְּטַלְתְּ	אִיקַּטַלְתְּ
1st com. . .	אִיקְּטֵילִי[ת]	אִיקְּטַלִי[ת]	אִיקַּטַלִי[ת], (טוֹ)
Plur. 3d masc.	אִיקְּטִילוּ, (טוּ)	אִיקְּטַלוּ	אִיקַּטְלוּ
		אִיקְּטוּל	אִיקַּטוּל
3d fem. . . .		אִיקְּטָלָן	אִיקַּטָלָן
2d masc. . .	אִיקְּטִילִיתוּ, אִיקְּטֵילְתּוּ	אִיקְּטַלִיתוּ	אִיקַּטַלִיתוּ
1st com.	——	אִיקְּטַלִינָן, ־לָנָא	אִיקַּטַלְנָא
	——	אִיקְּטַלַן	——
MPERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיקְּטֵיל, (טוֹ)	לִיקְּטַל	לִיקַּטַל, (טוֹ)
3d fem. . . .	תִּיקְּטֵיל, (טוֹ)	תִּיקְּטַל	תִּיקַּטַל
2d masc. . .	תִּיקְּטֵיל, (טוֹ)	תִּיקְּטַל	תִּיקַּטַל
2d fem. . . .	——	——	תִּיקַּטְלִי
1st com. . .	אֵיקְּטֵיל	אֵיקְּטַל	אֵיקַּטַל
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לִיקַּטְלוּ[ן]		לִיקַּטְלוּ[ן]
3d fem. . . .	לִיקַּטְלָן		לִיקַּטְלָן
2d masc. . .	תִּיקַּטְלוּ[ן]		תִּיקַּטְלוּ[ן]
1st com. . .	——	——	נִיקַּטַל
MPERATIVE—			
Sing. masc.	אִיקְּטֵיל	אִיקְּטַל	אִיקַּטַל, (טֵי)
fem.	——	——	אִיקַּטְלִי
Plur. masc.	——	אִיקְּטַלוּ	אִיקַּטְלוּ, (טֵי, טוּ)
NFINITIVE.	אִיקְּטוֹלֵי		אִיקַּטוֹלֵי
'ARTICIPLE—			
Sing. masc.	מִיקְּטֵיל	מִיקְּטַל	מִיקַּטַל
fem.	מִיקַּטְלָא		מִיקַּטְלָא

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPE'ĒL.

PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§328. *a*) [B אִתְקְטֵל; T אִתְקְטִיל, אִתְקְטִיל|.—אִתְמְלִיךְ *he consulted*, Ber. 27 *b*; אִיצְטְרִיךְ *was necessary*, Ned. 29 *b*; אִינְקִיב *was pierced*, Ḥull. 46 *a*; אִיזְדְּרִיק Pes. 88 *b* (C. MS. אִיזְדְּרִיר); אִיצְטְרִיךְ Ned. 67 *a*, 76 *b*; אִישְׁתַּבִּיט *disappeared*, Ned. 50 *b*, M. Q. 12 *b*; אִצְטְלִיק *was split*, Ber. 56 *b*; אִשְׁתְּקִיל *was taken away*, Ḥag. 2 *b*.

b) [T אִתְקְטַל].—אִיעְנַשׁ *was punished*, M. Q. 25 *a*; אִיקְפַּד *took offence*, Ned. 22 *b*; אִיחְצַף *was irreverent*, Ned. 64 *b*; אִיכְפַּל *took trouble*, Zeb. 15 *a* (אִקְפַּל Ḥull. 44 *a*, id.); אִתְפְּקַר *was insulting, disobedient*, M. Q. 16 *a*; אִיהְדַּר Ned. 50 *a*; אִיקְלַע *arrived, ibid.* 62 *a*; אִישְׁתְּכַח *was found, ibid.* 50 *a*.[1]

c) אִיכְּתּוֹב *was written*, Zeb. 2 *b*; אִיבְּצוֹל *grew bulbous*, ʿArûkh, ʿEr. 29 *b*; אִשְׁתְּפוֹךְ *was spilled*, Gitt. 57 *b*; אִתְּקוֹל *met with an accident*, eds. B. Q. 29 *a*; אִיפְּלוֹג *was divided*, B. B. 121 *b*.[2]

3d sing. fem.—§329. *a*) [B הִתְקְטֵלַת; T אִתְקְטִילַת; Pal. Talm. אתקטלת, אתקטלת; M עתקיטלאת, עקיטלאת; S ܐܬܩܛܠ].—אִיתְּקִילָה *met with accident*, B. Q. 29 *a*; אִיתְּעִבִידָא Sabb. 3 *a*; אִישְׁתְּמִישָׁא *was soaked*, Succ. 10 *b*; אִיפְּשִׁיטָא *was explained*, Ber. 25 *b*; אִיצְטְרִיכָא *ibid.* Ned. 60 *b*; אִיתְּהֲפִיכָא *was turned*, M. Q. 20 *a*; אִימְּתִילָה *was likened*, Sanh. 95 *a*; אִיתְּנִיסִיבַת ʿEn Y. Ned. 50 *a*.[3]

b) אִיכְּסְפָא *was ashamed*, Taan. 25 *a*; אִיפְּסְלָה *became unfit*, Zeb. 15 *a*; אִינְּקְבָה *was pierced*, Ḥull. 49 *a*; אִימְּרְדָה *rebelled*, B. M. 84 *b*; אִיבְּלְעָא *was taught*, Ber. 24 *b*; אִיצְטְרְכָא Sabb. 148 *b*.[4]

2d sing. masc.—§330. [T אִתְקְטִילְתָּא; Pal. Talm. איתקטלת; M אתקטילת; S ܐܬܩܛܠ].—אִיבְּרַכְתְּ *didst mingle*, Keth. 77 *b*; אִימְּלַכְתְּ B. B. 17 *b*.

1st sing. com.—§331. *a*) [T איתקטילית; Pal. Talm. איקטלת; M עתקיטלית, עקיטלית; S ܐܬܩܛܠ].—אִיצְטְרִיכִי Gitt. 58 *a*; אִינְּסִיבִי *I was married*, Yeb. 66 *a*.[5]

[1] אִיתְּסְכַּר, *HG.* 501; אִיתְּבַּשַּׁל (or אִיתְּבַּשֵּׁל), *HG.* ed. pr. 133 *d*.

[2] אִיפְּסִיקְאִי Alfasi, הלכות טומאה, passing into ל״ר.

[3] אִישְׁתְּכַחִית Sabb. 116 *b* (ʿEn Y. אִיתְּנְטִילַת). Palestinean.—אִישְׁתְּכַחִית, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §550; אִשְׁתְּמָאר *was heard*, *SM.* No. XCV., passing into ל״ר verbs; הִנְּסִיבָא *HG.* 293.

[4] The traditional pronunciation of lengthened forms of the Ithpe'ēl are אִיקְטָלָא, לִיקְטָלוּ, מִיקְטָלִי, etc. What justification there is for such a pronunciation it is difficult to tell.

[5] אִימְּלִיכִי, *HG.* ed. pr. 100 *d*.

b) [T אִתְקְטַלִּית].—אִיקְּלַעִית *I arrived*, Sabb. 145*b*; אִיקְּלַעִי Sanh. 97*a*, Ber. 49*a*; אִסְתְּגַרִי *I am engrossed*, F. MS., B. Q. 40*a*; אִימְּלַכִי *I took counsel*, B. B. 30*b*.[1]

3d plur. masc.—§332. *a*) [B הִתְקְטְלוּ; T אִתְקְטִילוּ, אִתקטלו; Pal. Talm. אִיתקטלון; M עִתקאטלון, עִתקיטלון; S ܐܶܬܩܛܶܠܘ, ܐܶܬܩܛܶܠ]. —אִיתְּהֲפִיכוּ B. B. 74*b*; אִיבְּעִיתוּ *were afraid*, Meg. 3*a*; אִיצְּטְרִיכִי Gitt. 72*b*; אִיפְּלִיגוּ *were divided*, Sabb. 156*a*.[2]

b) אִישְׁתְּקְלוּ ʿAr. 18*b*; אִיקְּלַאוּ C. MS., M. Q. 12*a*; אִיפְּלַגוּ *differed*, Zeb. 11*b*; אִבְּלַעוּ *were swallowed up*, Sanh. 110*a*; אִיחְּרְכִי *were charred, singed*, Nidd. 28*a*; אֶחְתְּרִין *broke in*, Sanh. 109*a*.[3]

c) אִיכְּסוּפוּ *were ashamed*, Gitt. 29*b*.[4]

d) אִיזְּדְּהוּר, אִיזְדְּהוּר *took heed*, Qidd. 69*b*; אִימְּרוּד *rebelled*, Yeb. 108*a*; אִיבְּעוּל Yômâ 19*b*; אִינְּקוּט *were caught*, Taan. 23*b*: אִינְּפוּל *fell in ruins*, Meg. 4*a*; אִפְּרוּק Ḫull. 44*a*; אִפְּטוּר *took leave*, M. Q. 9*a*; אִישְׁתְּדוּם *were blasted*, B. M. 105*b*; אִשְׁתְּדוּם *ibid.* 106*a*.[5]

3d plur. fem.—§333. [T אִתְקְטִילָא, אִתְקְטַלָא, אִתקטלן; S ܐܶܬܩܛܶܠ, ܐܶܬܩܛܶܠܬ, ܐܶܬܩܛܶܠ]. —אִישְׁתְּכַחָן B. B. 24*a*; אִיקְּרַעָן *were torn*, Qidd. 70*b*; אִינְּסַבָן *were married*, Keth. 53*d*; אִיכְּנַעָן *bowed*, ʿEn Y. A. Z. 17*b*; אִיבְּעִיל ʿArûkh Yômâ 19*b*; אִיבְּזַעַאי *were split*, ʿEn Y. Bekh. 36*a*, by analogy with ל״י.[6]

2d plur. masc.—§334. [T אִתְקְטִילְתּוּן; M עִתיקטילתון, עִתקטילתון; S ܐܶܬܩܛܶܠܬܘܢ]. —אִסְתְּלִיקְתּוּ B. Q. 108*b* (M. MS. אִסְתְּלַקִיתּוּ); אִיתְּעֲתִירְתּוּ *ye became rich*, Hôr. 10*b*; אִיתְּרַחִיתּוּ *ye postpone, wait*, Sabb. 136*a*; אִיפְּטַרִיתּוּ *ye took leave*, M. Q. 9*a* (ʿEn Y. אִיפְּטִירִיתּוּ).

1st plur. com.—§335. [B הִתְקְטַלְנָא; T אִתְקְטִילְנָא; M עִתקטילנין, עִתקטילנין; S ܐܶܬܩܛܶܠ–, ܐܶܬܩܛܶܠ–]. —אִיקְּלַעְנָן Ḫull. 111*a*; אִיקְּלַעִינָן *ibid.* 49*a*.[7]

Imperfect.—*3d sing. masc.*—§336. *a*) [B יִתְקְטֵל; T יִתְקְטִיל; M ניתיקטיל, ניקטיל; S ܢܶܬܩܛܶܠ].

[1] אִיקְּרַרִי, *HG.* ed. pr. 115*a*.
[2] אִיפְּלִיגוּן, *Igg. Šerirâ*, 29; אִשְׁתְּפִילוּ, *ibid.* 37.
[3] אִשְׁתְּכַחוּן, *Hal. Pes.* §73; אִירְקְּעוּ, *HG.* 129 (voc.).
[4] אִצְּרוּכִי, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §320.
[5] אִשְׁתְּכוּחַ, *HG.* ed. pr. 92*a*: אִישְׁתְּמוּט, *ibid.* 126*c*.
[6] אִישְׁתְּכַחָן, *HG.* ed. pr. 130*a*; אִימְּלַכְתָן, *ibid.* 134*d*; אִתְּקָרָן, *Igg. Šerirâ*, 15 (√עקר)
[7] אִסְתְּמִירְנָא, *Igg. Šerirâ*, 44; אִיצְּטְרִיכִינָן Alfâsî, B. M. IV.

b) לִיתְבַּר *is broken*, Ber. 28*a*; לִיזְדַּהַר Sabb. 110*b*; נִיזְדַּהַר *takes care*, Gitt. 69*b*; לִשְׁתְּכַח *is found*, Ned. 44*a*.[1]

c) לִיפְסוֹל *is unfit*, Zeb. 27*a*.

3d sing. fem.—§337. *a*) תִּיפְּשֵׁיט *is explained*, Sabb. 140*a*; תִּיעְבֵּיד *is done*, B. M. 29*b*.

b) תִּתְבַּר *is broken*, B. M. 107*a*; תִּתְעֲבַד *is done*, A. Z. 10*a*.

2d sing. masc.—§338. תִּלְחוֹשׁ *listen*, B. M. 59*a*.

1st sing. com.—§339. *a*) אֵימְלֵיךְ *I consult*, Ber. 27*b*.

b) אֶסְתַּגַּר *I am engrossed*, B. Q. 40*a*; אֵיהַדַּר *I go back*, Ned. 50*a*.

3d plur. masc.—§340. [BT יִתְקַטְלוּן; M נִיתְקִיטְלוּן; S ܢܬܩܛܠܘܢ.]—לִיפְסְלוּ *are unfit*, Zeb. 4*b*, 5*a*; לִיפְלְגוּ *differ*, *ibid.* 11*b*; לִיתְּרְחוּ *wait*, Sabb. 134*a*; לִיחְלְפוּ *exchange, mix up*, *ibid.* 54*b*; לִתְרַגְלִי *get accustomed*, Ned. 66*b*; לִעְנְשׁוּ *are punished*, Bêçā 16*a*.[2]

3d plur. fem.—§341. לִישְׁתַּמְעָן *are heard*, M. Q. 16*b*; לִחַמְטָן *ulcerate*, Sabb. 54*b*.

2d plur. masc.—§342. תִּתְקַטְלוּן Keth. 19*a*; תִּיכַּסְפוּ *are ashamed*, Qidd. 18*a*.

Imperative.—*Sing. masc.*—§343. אִיזְדַּהַר *take heed*, Pes 112*a*; אִיטְלַע *have untied*, Yeb. 39*b*; אִפְרַע *take as pay*, B. M. 118*a*; אִשְׁתְּמַע *make thyself heard*, Sanh. 95*b*; אִשְׁתְּכַח *find*, *ibid.* 95*a*; אִיקְּשִׁיט *adorn thyself*, Sabb. 26*a*.

Plur. masc.—§344. אִזְדַּהֲרוּ *keep away*, Nidd. 47*a*.

Infinitive.—§345. The usual form of the infinitive is אִתְקְטוֹלֵי; the other forms occur only sporadically.

a) 'ithqatûlê: לְאִימְלוֹכֵי *to consult*, B. B. 12*b*; אִיזְדַּהוֹרֵי M. MS., Pes. 110*b*; אִישְׁתְּכוֹחֵי *ibid.* 10*b*; לְאִינְפּוֹלֵי M. Q. 2*ab*; אִיעֲרוֹמֵי *to act slyly*, Sabb. 38*a*; אִיפְלוֹגֵי *to differ*, 'Er. 3*a*.

b) 'ithqatûlâ: אִיעֲרוֹמָא Macc. 23*b*.

c) 'ithqatâlâ: לְאִתְנַסָּבָא *to be married*, Keth. 53*b*.

d) mithqatûlê: מִיקְּטוֹפֵי *to be broken, interrupted*, Pes. 8*a* (fragment ed. Lowe); מִיקְּפוֹלֵי *to peel off*, Yeb. 76*a*.

e) mithqatal: מִיזְדַּהַר B. B. 173*a*; לְמִימְשַׁךְ *to follow*, A. Z. 27*b*; but the last example is more probably Qal.

[1] Without ל: זְמַסַּר *is delivered up*, B. M. 86*a*; יִזְדַּהַר A. Z. 28*b*.

[2] לִיפְלִיגוּ, *HG.* ed. pr. 106*a*; לִיתְפַּרְעוּן, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §546.

f) mithqatâlâ: מִינְגַּדָּא *to be lashed*, H. MS., B. M. 86*a*.

g) 'ithqatâlûîê: לְאֶזְדְּרוֹיֵי *to flow over*, ʿArûkh, Yômâ 78*a*.[1]

Participle.—*Sing. masc.*—§ 346. *a*) מִימְלִיךְ Ned. 54*a*; מִיבְּעִית *is frightened*, Sanh. 94*a*.

b) מִינְגַּד *is lashed*, H. MS., B. M. 86*a*; מִיקְטַם *is broken*, Pes. 8*a*; מִזְדְּהַר *ibid.* 111*b*.

Sing. fem.—§ 347. מִתְעַבְּדָא M. MS., Pes. 54*a*; מִימַּרְדָא *rebels*, Keth. 57*b*; מִיעַרְמָא *acts slyly*, Macc. 23*b*; מִינַּסְבָא *is married*, Sabb. 94*a*.

Plur. masc.—§ 348. מִתְמַלְכִין *regret*, B. B. 4*a*; מִיעַנְשִׁי *are punished*, C. MS., M. Q. 25*a*; מִתְהַפְכִי Meg. 4*b*; מִיפַּלְגִי *differ*, Ned. 54*a*; מִיגַּנְזוּ *hide themselves*, Sanh. 26*a*; מִיפַּלִיגִי Zeb. 18*b*.[2]

Plur. fem.—§ 349. מִשְׁתַּמְעָן Sabb. 23*b*; מִפַּתְבָן Ber. 6*a*; מִימַּסְרָן Gitt. 71*b*; מִינַּקְפָן *are wounded*, ed. Ven. Ber. 6*a*; מִינַּסְבָן *are married*, Ber. 56*a*.

Participle with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.—§ 350.—*a*) מִזְדְּכַרְנָא *I remember*, Ber. 44*b*; מִזְדְּהַרְנָא *I take heed*, B. B. 29*a*; מִימְצַרְנָא *stretch myself*, A. Z. 70*b*; מִתְפֵּיסְנָא Sabb. 32*a*.

b) מִתַּפְסַתְּ *art caught*, Ber. 56*a*; מִינַּסְבַתְּ *art married*, Keth. 61*b* (f.).

c) מִיפְּקִידְנָא Qidd. 39*a*.

examples for ithpa"al.

Perfect.—*3d sing. masc.*—§ 351. *a*) [B הִתְתַּקַּטַּל; T אִתְקַטַּל; M אתקאטאל; S ܐܬܩܛܠ].—אִיתְעַשַּׁר *became rich*, Gitt. 30*b*; אִיסְתַּבַּל Pes. 104*a*; אִיזְדַּבַּן *was sold*, Ber. 5*b*; אִיזְדַּבַּל *was manured*, A. Z. 49*a*; אִיפַּתַּח *she brought forth*, Gitt. 69*b* (§ 236); אִיזַּבַּן Ned. 31*b*; אִיעַקַּר *ibid.* 41*a*; אִיעַתַּר *became rich*, *ibid.* 50*a*.

b) אִשְׁתַּמִּישׁ Pes. 8*a* (ed. pr.); אִסְתַּתִּים *was closed up*, Yeb. 75*b*.

c) אִישְׁתָּרוֹךְ *was burned*, Pes. 82*b*; אִיסְתַּלּוֹק Er. 60*a*; אִינַּנּוֹב *was stolen*, B. M. 79*a*; אִיקַּדּוֹשׁ ʿArûkh, Ned. 31*a*; אִיתַּגּוֹר *has profit*, Sanh. 81*a*; אִיפַּטּוֹר(ו) *let her be freed*, Yeb. 19*a*.

d) אִישְׁתְּרִישׁ *was of benefit*, Gitt. 35*a*.[3]

[1] לִיסְּוֹבָה, *Še'ēl.* 18; אִיסְּוֹבָה, *ibid.* 12; לְמִסְּוֹבָה, *ibid.* 21.

[2] מִיפְּלִיגִי, *HG.* 264.

[3] *Cf.* for the development of meaning Arabic تَأَثَّلَ and تَأَصَّلَ.

3d sing. fem.—§352. [B הִתְקַטְלַת; T אִתְקַטְלַת; M עתקאטלאת; S ܐܶܬܩܰܛܰܠ].—אִינַּגְעָה *became leprous*, Ḫull. 60*a*; אִישַׁבְּשָׁא *was persuaded*, Yeb. 108*b*; אִיעַלְּטָא *escaped*, B. M. 85*b*; אִזַּדַּקְרָא *staggered*, Nidd. 17*b*; אִיקַּדְּשָׁא, אִיקְּדְשַׁת, Keth. 62*b*; אִיתְקַדְּשַׁת Ned. 50*a*; אִיקְּדִישָׁה *was betrothed*, Yeb. 110*a*.[1]

2d sing. com.—§353. [הִתְקַטַּלְתְּ; T אִתְקַטַּלְתָּא, אתקטלת; M עתקאטאלת; S ܐܶܬܩܰܛܰܠ].—אִישְׁתַּבַּשְׁתְּ *art in error*, Zeb. 26*a*; אִיעַכַּבְתְּ *didst stay*, Ḫull. 105*b*; אִיפַּגַּרְתְּ *didst neglect to come*, Keth. 111*b*; אִיעַסַּקְתְּ *didst busy thyself*, Keth. 77*b*.

1st sing. com.—§354. [B הִתְקַטַּלִית; T אִיתְקַטַּלִית; M עתקאטלית; S ܐܶܬܩܰܛܰܠ].—אִישְׁתַּבַּעִי *I swore*, Sanh. 109*b*; אִיסְתַּכַּלִי *I looked*, B. M. 85*b*; אִסְתַּכַּנִי *I was in danger*, Keth. 61*a*, O. MS., Sabb. 145*b*; אִיעַתַּרִי Pes. 113*a*; אִישְׁתַּטַּחִי *I stretched myself out*, B. M. 85*b*.[2]

3d plur. masc.—§355. *a*) [B הִתְקַטַּלוּ; T אִתְקַטַּלוּ; Pal. Talm. אִיתְקַטְלוּן; M עתקאטאליון; S ܐܶܬܩܰܛܰܠ, ܐܶܬܩܰܛܰܠ].—אִיעַתִּירוּ *became rich*, Taan. 23*b*; אִתְּשָׁעַרוּ(?) C. MS., M. Q. 25*b* (eds. אִשְׁתָּעוּ).[3]

b) אִישְׁתַּקּוּר Macc. 5*b*; אִיעַקּוּר Yeb. 64*b*; אִסְתַּתּוּם *were closed up*, R. H. 23*b*; אִיתַּנּוּר *made profit*, A. Z. 2*b*; אִיבַּדּוּר *may they be scattered*, Pes. 110*b*.

3d plur. fem.—§356. אִזַּרָּעָן *show semen*, Ḫull. 93*b*.[4]

1st plur. com.—§357. אִידַּבְּקָנָא *I am* (*we are*) *attached*, Sanh. 29*a*.

Imperfect.—*3d sing. masc.*—§358. *a*) לִיצְטָעַר Ḫag. 5*b*; לִיתְכַּשַּׁר Gitt. 87*a*; לִיצְטָרַךְ Zeb. 31*b*; לִיסְתַּכַּן Sabb. 81*a*; לִינַּוּול *is disfigured*, B. B. 154*b*; נִישְׁתַּלַּם B. M. 108*a*.[5]

b) נִשְׁתָּרוֹךְ *is burned*, Pes. 82*b*.[6]

3d sing. fem.—§359. תִּתְכַּשַּׁר Zeb. 25*a*; תִּתְקַבֵּל Bêç. 38*a*; תִּתְבָּרֵךְ Ber. 51*b*; תִּזְדַּמַּן *happened*, M. Q. 18*b*; תִּישְׁתַּבַּע Keth. 83*a*; תִּתַּבַּן *is covered with straw*, B. M. 103*b*; תִּיעַנַּן *ibid.* 19*a*.

2d sing. masc.—§360*a*. תִּסְתַּכַּל B. M. 85*a*; תִּצְטָעַר Sanh. 95*a*.

2d sing. fem.—§360*β*. תִּיסַּתְּרִי Keth. 2*b*.

[1] אִינַּגְּאעִי (for עִית־), *SM.* No. x.; אִישְׁתַּלְּמַת, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, §53.

[2] אִידַּבּוּקִי, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, §1; אִסְתַּכְּלַאר *MM.* Taan. 22.

[3] The regular form is very rare, having been superseded by the one with transposed final vowel.

[4] אִישְׁתַּלַּמָן. *TG.*, ed. Cassel, §53; אִישְׁתַּבַּעָן, *ibid.*; אִינְּגַרְשָׁן, *HG.*, ed. pr. 81*d*.

[5] יִתְקַלַּס, *Sôṭâ* 40*a*.

[6] לִישְׁתַּתּוֹם, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §343.

1st sing. com.—§361. אֶסְתַּתַּר Ber. 31*b*; אֶצְטַעַר Taan. 25*a*; אֶיפַּגַר *ibid.* 23*b*; אֶיעַכַּב Sanh. 98*a*.

3d plur. masc.—§362. *a*) לִיבַּטְלוּן Ned. 27*a*; לִיזְדַּבְּנוּ ʿEr. 47*b*; לִיבַּדְּרוּ Gitt. 33*b*; לִיעַתְּרוּ Taan. 23*b*; לִיצְטָרְפוּ Sabb. 71*a*; לִיסַּלְּקוּ, לִיסְתַּלְּקוּ B. B. 43*a*.[1]

b) לִיבַּדְּרִי Tôsāphôth, Gitt. 33*b*; נְשְׁתָּרוּפִי(?) Sabb. 110*a*.

c) נְבַדּוּר Yeb. 72*a*.

3d plur. fem.—§363. לִבַּטְּלָן Ned. 27*b*; לִיבַּדְּקָן Succ. 13*b*.

2d plur. masc.—§364. תִּתְנַחֲמוּ Sanh. 19*a*; תִּתְעַתְּרוּ B. M. 59*a*.

1st plur. com.—§365. נְצְטַעַר Taan. 25*a*.

Imperative.—*Sing. masc.*—§366. *a*) אִסְתַּכַּל Ḫull. 60*a*, אִיטַּמַּר *hide thyself*, Yeb. 45*b*; אִידַּחַן *be fat*, Šebu. 47*b*.

b) אִידַּחֵן eds. Šebu. 47*b*; אִישְׁתַּתִּיק Alfâsî Ḫull. 132*b* (eds. אִשְׁתַּתַּק).[2]

Plur. masc.—§367. *a*) אִיטַּמְּרוּ Alfâsî B. B. 40*b*.

b) אִסְתַּמְּרוּ M. MS. B. B. 41*a*.

c) אִיטַּמּוּרוּ B. B. 40*b*.

Infinitive.—§368. The usual form of the infinitive is אִתְקַטּוֹלֵי; the other forms occur only sporadically.

a) ʾithqattûlê: לְאִיתְפַּתּוֹחֵי *to open*, Gitt. 69*a*; אִסְתַּתּוֹמֵי *to be closed*, R. H. 23*b*; אִיתַּגּוֹרֵי *to profit*, Sanh. 81*a*, A. Z. 2*b*, Yeb. 92*b*; אִיבַּדּוֹרֵי *to scatter*, Gitt. 33*b*, Yômâ 2*b*; אִישְׁתַּבּוֹחֵי *to praise*, Pes. 50*b*; אִיזְדַּבּוֹנֵי *to be sold*, ʿAr. 29*b*; לְבַסּוֹמֵי Meg. 7*b*, C. MS. לְאִיבַּסּוֹמֵי, *to cheer oneself up with wine.*

b) ʾithqattûl: אִיתַּמּוֹהַּ *to be astonished*, 2 M. MS. Pes. 17*a*; and perhaps אִיפַּטּוֹר *to be freed*, Yeb. 19*a*; אִיבַּדּוֹר Tos. Gitt. 33*b*.

c) ʾithqattâlâ: לְאִסְתַּכָּלָא *to look*, Ḫull. 60*a*; אִיתְעַקָּרָא Men. 7*a*.

d) ʾithqattâlê: אִיחָרְכֵי *to be singed*, Nidd. 28*a*.

e) ʾithqattal: אִיעְקַר *to be torn out*, Pes. 111*b*.

f) ʾithqattâlûîê: אִיתַּמָּהוֹיֵי *to wonder*, Sanh. 20*a*.

g) mithqattâlâ: לְמִיפְּטָרָא *to be freed*, Rašî Yeb. 19*a*.

h) נְשְׁתָּרוֹפִי *to melt*, Sabb. 110*a* (√שׁרף = √פשר). This example may also be imperfect; *cf.* §362*b*.[3]

[1] יִזְדַּבְּנוּן B. M. 90*b*.

[2] אִיקַּדִּישׁ, *HG.* ed. pr. 82*d*.

[3] אִיתְּשַׁלּוֹמֵי, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, §41; לְאִישְׁתַּבְּעַאי, *TR.*, II., 33; לְמִשְׁתַּבַּע, *HG.*, ed. pr. 105*d*; אִשְׁתָּרְשׁוֹרֵי, *ibid.* 41*c*.

PARTICIPLE.—*Sing. masc.*—§369. *a*) מִתְכַּפֵּר *is forgiven*, Meg. 16*a*; מִזְדַּבֵּן *is sold*, M. Q. 10*b*; מִצְטָעֵר *grieves*, B. M. 84*a*; מִנְגַּע *is smitten with leprosy*, Ḫull. 60*a*; מִיפַּתַּח *opens*, Taan. 24*a*.[1]

b) מִיסְתַּפֵּין ʿEn Y. Bekh. 44*b*; מְשְׁתַּלֵּים *is paid*, Pes. 28*a*.[2]

c) מְשְׁתַּדְּרִי *benefits*, Gitt. 44*a*, Ḫull. 131*a*, Keth. 108*a*.

Sing. fem.—§370. מִיפַּקְדָא *bidden*, Yeb. 65*b*; מִיזַּקְנָא *grows old*, ʿAr. 19*a*; מִיזַּבְנָא, מִיזְדַּבְנָא *is sold*, *ibid.* 29*b*; מִנַּטְרָיָא Bêçā 15*a* (by analogy with י״ל).[3]

Plur. masc.—§371. מִסְתַּפְקִין Taan. 23*b*; מִסְתַּכְלִי Succ. 45*b*, מִתְעַתְּרִי *get rich*, Pes. 50*a*; מִיקַּבְּלוּ *are pleasing*, Taan. 23*b*; מִיתְּרְצוּן *are explained*, Taan. 14*a*; מְזַדַּבְּנוּ *are sold*, Macc. 2*b*.

Plur. fem.—§372. מִסְתַּכְּלָן *look*, Bêçā 20*a*; מִיפָּרְשָׁן *are explained, clear*, Meg. 3*a*; מִסַּתְּמָן *are unclear*, *ibid.*; מִיזְּרְדָן *are trimmed*, Ned. 61*b*, Rašī; מִצְטָעֲרָן Sabb. 140*b*.

PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUN.—§373.—*a*) מְשְׁתַּתְּפִינָא *I associate myself*, M. MS. Sabb. 23*a*; מְשְׁתַּלְּמָנָא *am paid*, B. Q. 9*a*; מִסְתַּלְּקָנָא *am paid off*, B. M. 67*b*; מְסְתַּתְּרָנָא *I hide myself*, Ber. 31*b* (f.); מְשְׁתַּבְּעָנָא *I swear*, Keth. 85*a*; מְקַדְּשָׁנָא *I am married*, Keth. 62*b* (f.).

b) מְזַדַּבְּנַתְּ *thou art sold*, Macc. 2*b*; מִיפַּקְדָת Yeb. 65*b* (f.); מְשְׁתַּתְּפַתְּ B. M. 69*a*; מְיַעְּנַגְתְּ Taan. 25*a*.

c) מִיזַּדַּבְּנִינָן *we are sold*, Macc. 2*b*.[4]

d) מִסְתַּלְּקִיתּוּ *ye are paid off, leave*, B. M. 109*a*; מְשְׁתַּלִּיתּוּ (= מְשְׁתַּלְהִיתּוּ) *ye become tired*, A. Z. 72*b*.

VERBS פ״נ.

§374. The נ as first stem-consonant is assimilated to the following consonant whenever both meet without an intervening vowel, or vocal šᵉvâ. This happens in the imperfect and in the infinitive Qal, in the Aphʿēl and in the Ittaphʿal. The imperative Qal frequently loses initial נ by analogy with the imperfect from which it is derived.

[1] מִתְנָגַע, *SM.* No. x. (voc.).

[2] מְשְׁתַּמְּרִית, *HG.* ed. pr. 104*d*.

[3] מִיקַּדְּשַׁת, *HG.* ed. pr. 82*d*.

[4] מְצְטַעֲרִינָנָא, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, §78.

In the verb סלק *to ascend*, which in consequence of the syncope of ל is formed like a פ״נ stem, we find also a form סַקוּ *they ascended* (Taan. 23*b*) in the perfect.[1]

The נ frequently remains unassimilated before gutturals, emphatic consonants, sibilants, ג, ד, and פ. Notice מִיפַּק *is taken out* (Succ. 45*a*) for מִינְפַּק. But this may also be an Aph'ēl passive participle. לְאִיתְכְּסָאָה *to be slaughtered*, 'Er. 53*b*, passing into a ל״י form.

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

IMPERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§375. *a*) לִינְשׁוֹק *moves*, Ber. 51*a*; לִינְפּוֹל *falls*, Meg. 22*b*; לִינְטוֹל *takes*, Gitt. 68*b*; לִינְחוֹת *goes down, ibid.* 67*b*; לִיפּוֹל Meg. 22*b*; נִינְקוֹט Gitt. 69*a*.[2]

b) לִינְחֵית Sabb. 110*a*; לִיתֵּן (§8) Sabb. 104*a*.[3]

c) לִיגַּח *blows*, Gitt. 69*a*; לִיסַּח Ned. 40*a*; נִיסַּח *withdraws*, Ber. 51*b*.[4]

3d sing. fem.—§376. תִּיפּוֹק Macc. 14*a*, Ned. 65*a*, 66*a*.

2d sing. masc.—§377. *a*) תִּיטּוֹל *takest*, B. M. 105*a*; תִּינְהוֹג M. Q. 20*b*; תִּינְטוֹשׁ *strippest*, Sanh. 100*b* (from Sirach).

b) No example.

c) תִּנְסַב *marriest*, M. Q. 9*b*; Yeb. 100*b*.

1st sing. com.—§378. *a*) אֶגּוֹד *I acquire*, B. B. 13*b*; אֵיפּוֹק *I go out*, Gitt. 56*a*; אֵיחוֹת *I go down*, B. M. 15*b*.

b) אֵינְסֵיב *I marry*, Yeb. 65*a*; אֶתֵּן Gitt. 56*b*.

c) אֵינְטַר *I keep*, M. MS. B. B. 29*a*; אֵיסַק *I go up*, M. Q. 22*a*.

3d plur. masc.—§379. *a*) לִיפְּקוּן *go out*, M. Q. 9*b*, C. MS. לִינְפְּקוּן; לִיפְּקוּ R. H. 18*a*, Bekh. 58*b*; נִינְקְטוּ *take*, Pes. 111*a*; לִיתְּנוּן *give*, Ned. 55*a*.[5]

b) נִיקוּט M. MS. Pes. 111*a*.

3d plur. fem.—§380. לִיסְקָן, לִיפְקָן 'En Y. M. Q. 9*b*.

2d plur. masc.—§381. תִּנְקְטוּ Taan. 24*a*; תֵּיחוֹתוּ *go down*, B. B. 73*b*; תִּנְסְבוּ *ye marry*, Ber. 8*b*.

1st plur. com.—§382. *a*) נִיפּוֹק Gitt. 56*a*; נֵיחוֹת 2 M. MS. Pes. 118*b*; לֵיחוֹת B. B. 73*b*.

[1] *Cf.* פְּצִירָה נַפּוֹצֵי *Hal. Pes.* §39. *Cf.* also Hebrew תַּתָּה, קָח, etc.

[2] רִיפּוֹק B. B. 169*a*.

[3] נָנְסִיב, לִנְסִיב *HG.* ed. pr. 119*b*.

[4] רִנְפַּק Qidd. 81*a*.

[5] רִפָּקוּן B. B. 169*a*.

b) נִיתֵּן Sanh. 96*a*; נִכְּיס *slaughters*, Sanh. 25*b*.

c) לִינְטַר B. B. 29*a*.

IMPERATIVE.—*Sing. masc.*—§383. *a*) נְקוֹט *take*, Sabb. 147*a*; נְפוֹץ *cast off*, *ibid.*; פּוֹץ Yômâ 20*b*; גּוֹר *acquire*, B. B. 13*b*; כּוֹס *slaughter*, Pes. 61*a*; הוֹר *vow*, Qidd. 41*a*; טוֹל *take*, B. M. 28*b*; פּוֹק Ber. 17*a*.

b) נְסֵיב *marry*, Yeb. 45*a*, 63*a*; Pes. 113*a*; נְחֵית Yeb. 63*a*; תֵּן *give*, Gitt. 56*b*.

c) נְטַר *keep*, Qidd. 70*a*; נְטָרֵ *raise up*, Keth. 60*a* (Rašî נְטוֹרֵ) סַב *take away*, Sanh. 100*b*; סַק *ascend*, Yeb. 63*a*.

Sing. fem.—§384. טַלִי *take*, Gitt. 24*a*, Ned. 77*b*.[1]

Plur. masc.—§385. *a*) נְקוּטוּ Sanh. 90*b*; פּוּקוּ Sabb. 156*a*; חוּתוּ *come ye down*, Šebu. 31*a*.

b) נְגִידוּ *remove ye*, Gitt. 68*b*, ʿEr. 94*a*.

c) נְטָרוּ Ber. 53*b*.

INFINITIVE.—§386. *a*) miqtal: מִנְקַר *to chisel*, M. Q. 10*a*; מִינְסַב Sanh. 75*b*; מִינְטַר M. Q. 9*a*; מִינְדַּר Ned. 66*b*; מִינְגַּע Sanh 19*a*; מִינְגַּד B. M. 74*b*; מִידַּר Ned. 28*a*; מִיפַּק *ibid.* 50*a*; מִיקַט *ibid.* 78*b*; לְמִיפַּל B. B. 10*a*; לְמִיתַּן Sanh. 113*a*.

b) miqtil: מִינְסִיב ʿEn Y. Sôtā 12*a*.

c) miqtul: לְמִיחוֹת ʿEn Y. B. B. 73*b*.

d) miqtalâ: לְמִינְטָרָא *SM.* (No. xcv.), Gitt. 68*b*.

e) qutŭl: נְדוֹר Ned. 21*b*.

EXAMPLES FOR APHʿĒL.

PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§387. *a*) אַנְסִיב *married*, Qidd. 71*a*; אַנְקוּט M. MS. Ber. 7*a*; אַקִּיף *surrounded*, Sanh. 69*a*; אַפִּיק Ber. 39*a*; אַפִּישׁ *he increased*, Men. 23*b*; אַסִּיק Taan. 24*a*; אָחֵית Keth. 62*b*; אַפִּיל *she miscarried*, Ḫull. 42*a*.

b) אַתַּר *broke off*, Macc. 8*a*; אַסַּח *removed*, Gitt. 53*b*; אַנְסַב *married*, Yeb. 121*a*; אַנְהַר *enlightened*, Sôtā 6*a*; by analogy with ל״י verbs, אַנְעִי *touched*, Sanh. 33*b*; (אַדְּרָהּ *he forbade her by a vow*, Ned. 50*a*).

c) אַנְסוֹב C. MS. Pes. 110*b*.

3d sing. fem.—§388. אַפִּיקָה B. M. 59*b*; אַפְקָה Ned. 7*b*; אַפְלָה Yeb. 65*b*;[2] אָחֵיתַ *she let flow*, ʿEn Yaʿaq. 62*b*; (אַדַּרְתָּהּ *she forbade her by a vow*, Ned. 21*b*).

[1] סַקִי *SM.* No. cxv.

[2] אַפִּילָה *Še'ēl.* 18.

2d sing. masc.—§389. *a*) אַפֵּרְקְתְּ Sabb. 151*b*.

b) אַפַּלְתְּ Yeb. 65*b*; אַקַשְׁתְּ *didst compare*, Zeb. 5*b*; אַפַּשְׁתְּ *didst increase*, Ber. 5*b*; אַנַחַתְּ *didst answer satisfactorily*, B. B. 129*a*; אַנַחְתְּ Ḥull. 137*b*; אַפַּקְתְּ *ibid.* 43*a*.

1st sing. com.—§390. אַפֵּירְית Rašî Ber. 38*a*, eds. אַפֵּירַקְתְּ; אַפַּלִית Yeb. 65*b*; אַסְחַאי ʿEr. 54*b* (§203), ʿEn Y. *ibid.* אַסַּחְתִּי.[1]

3d plur. masc.—§391. אַפִּירְקוּ Ber. 38*a*; אָחִיתוּ M. Q. 25*b*; אַסִּירְקוּ Ned. 25*a*; אַפְקִי Yeb. 25*a*, by analogy with participle.[2]

2d plur. masc.—§392. אַסְחִיתוּ *ye remove*, Pes. 103*b*.

1st plur. com.—§393. אַזֵּירְקָנָא Alf. B. Q. 47*a*; אַסַּחְנָא M. MS. Er. 54*b*; אַחֵתִינָן Keth. 26*b*; אַקְפֵּן *I* (*we*) *give credit*, Ḥull. 48*a* (Rašî different).

Imperfect.—*3d sing. masc.*—§394. לַקֵּיק Sanh. 69*a*; נַפֵּיק B. M. 19*b*; לַפֵּישׁ Sanh. 52*a*; נַקֵּישׁ *compares*, Zeb. 49*b*; לִיקֵּישׁ ʿAr. 28*b*; נִיצֵּיל Sabb. 117*b*; (לוֹקֵּשֵׁיהּ *compares it*, Sabb. 83*a*).

2d sing. masc.—§395. תַּפֵּיק Qidd. 66*a*, R. H. 13*a*.

1st sing. com.—§396. אַפֵּישׁ B. B. 12*b*; אַצֵּיל *I rescue*, ʿEn Y. Sôtā 40*a*.

3d plur. masc.—§397. לִיזְקוּ *cause damage*, Sanh. 65*a*.[3]

2d plur. masc.—§398. תַּפִּיקוּ Sabb. 96*b*.

Imperative.—*Sing. masc.*—§399. *a*) אַקֵּישׁ *compare*, Zeb. 5*b*; אַקֵּיק Bêçā 25*b*; אַפֵּיק Macc. 22*a*; אָחֵית Sabb. 110*a*.

b) אַבַּע *let flow*, Taan. 25*b*.

Sing. fem.—§400. אַקְפִּי *cut the hair round*, B. M. 10*b*.

Plur. masc.—§401. אַפִּירְקוּ Sanh. 7*b*; אַסִּירְקוּ *bring up*, Bekh. 8*b*; אָחִיתוּן *place*, Ned. 50*b*.

Infinitive.—§402. *a*) ʾaqtûlê: אַפּוֹשֵׁי Bêçā 7*a*; אַפּוֹלֵי Ḥull. 42*b*; אַסּוֹחֵי Zeb. 20*b*, Sabb. 18*b*; אַפּוֹקֵי Ned. 2*b*; אַצּוֹלֵי Sôtā 21*a*; אַקּוֹשֵׁי *to compare*, Zeb. 49*b*; אַנְסוֹבֵי Yeb. 120*a*; (לְאַנְקוֹטֵיהּ *to make him assume*, B. Q. 85*b*).

b) ʾaqtilê: אַפֵּירֵי M. MS. Sabb. 101*b*; אַסֵּירֵי *ibid.* B. B. 166*b*.

c) ʾaqtâlûîê: לְאַקָּשׁוֹרֵי *to compare*, Ker. 25*b*, Zeb. 49*b*, by analogy with ל״י verbs.[4]

[1] אָחֵיתִי, אָחוֹתִי, *HG.* 180; אַפֵּילִי Alfasî Yeb. 65*b*.

[2] אַסּוֹחַ *HG.* ed. pr. 89*c*.

[3] לְאִיחֲתִי *HG.* 454.

[4] לְאַסָּקוֹרֵי Alfasî M. Q. 4*a*.

d) אוֹזוֹקֵי Ber. 35*b*, Gitt. 53*a*; לְאוֹקוֹפֵי *to give on credit*, A. Z. 63*b*, by analogy with פ״ו verbs.

e) maqtûlê: מַפּוֹלֵי Yeb. 35*b*.

Active Participle.—*Sing. masc.*—§403. *a*) מַנְקִיט Pes. 110*a*; מַנְסִיב Qidd. 69*a*, 71*b*; מַפִּיק Macc. 2*b*; מַזִּיק Ber. 35*b*, מָחֵית Qidd. 64*b*; מוֹשִׁיק *blows*, Sabb. 119*a*, by analogy with ע״ו verbs.

b) מַבַּע Keth. 91*a*; מַסַּח Zeb. 20*b*.

c) מִיפַּק Pes. 11*b*, by analogy with ע״ע verbs.

Sing. fem.—§404. מַפְּלָה Yeb. 35*b*; מַפְּלָא Sanh. 109*a*; מַצְּלָא *saves*, Sôtā 21*a*; מַזְּקָא B. B. 26*a*; מַצְּלָה Qidd. 8*b*.

Plur. masc.—§405. מַסְּבֵי M. MS. B. B. 166*b*; מַזְּקֵי Yeb. 121*b*; מִפְּקֵי Hôr. 8*a*; מַצְּלִין B. M. 93*b*; מַצִּילוּ Alfâsî, *ibid.*

Plur. fem.—§406. מַבְּעָן Sabb. 38*a*; מַסְּקָן R. H. 23*a*.

Passive Participle.—§407. *Sing. masc.*: מָחַת Ned. 50*a*.—*Sing. fem.*: מָחֲתָא *ibid.* 14*b*.—*Plur. fem.*: מָחֲתָן Ned. 91*b*; B. B. 69*a*; מַקְשְׁיָן *compared*, Ker. 11*a*, by analogy with ל״י verbs.—*Plur. masc.*: מָחֲתוֹן Alf. Ned. 91*b*.

Participle with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.—§408.—*a*) מַפְּקִינָא Ber. 38*a*; מַצֵּילְנָא *I save*, Sanh. 109*b*; מַפְּקִינָא Ḥull. 132*b*; מַקִּיפְנָא *I go around*, Meg. 29*a*.

b) מַנְסַבְתְּ B. M. 105*a*; מִינְסַבְתְּ Ned. 23*a* (f.); מַפְּקַתְּ Pes. 113*b*, Šebu. 31*a*; מַפְּשַׁתְּ Gitt. 3*a*; מַסְּחַתְּ Bêçā 40*a*.

c) מַנְסַבִינָן Yeb. 120*a*; מַפְּשִׁינָן Bêçā 7*a*; מַסְּקִינָן *we bring up*, Sanh. 112*a*; מַפְּקִינָן, מַחֲתִינָן Nidd. 3*a*; מַצֵּילִינָן *we save*, Sabb. 115*a*; מַפְּקִינָא Ḥull. 132*b*.

verbs פ״א.

§409. The perfect and the participles of Qal are regular. To what extent initial א in the perfect had a full vowel instead of šᵉvâ cannot be inferred from the orthography. Çērê I find once in אֵימַר *he said*, Keth. 103*b*.[1]

In the imperfect and in the infinitive the א does not appear and the preformative has çērê.[2] This vowel could have arisen from short *i* or might be a contraction of *ai*, the א having been changed to י.

[1] *Cf.* אֲמִיר *they said*, *Še'ēl.* ed. pr. 26 (voc.); אֵימִירָא, אֵימִיר, *is said*, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §69, *passim*; אֲמַר *he said*, *SM.* No. xxvi. (voc.).

[2] But *cf.* יֵאמַר M. MS. Ber. 28*a*; מֵאכְלִינְהוּ B. B. 81*b*; לֵאכְלֵיהּ Yôm. 75*b*.

In the imperative Qal the א usually takes a full vowel. In the verb אזל *to go* it is usually omitted.

In the Pa"ēl the א is usually syncopated in the participle, rarely in the imperfect.

In the Aph'ēl, verbs פ"א pass into verbs פ"ו; but in some cases they retain their original form, the א quiescing in the preceding *a*-vowel and producing *â*.

In the reflexive stems the א is usually assimilated to the preceding ת, but sometimes retained. In a few cases of the Ithpe'ēl the ת is further assimilated to the second stem-consonant.

§410. The verbs אזל and אמר drop at times their final consonant in unlengthened forms.[1] This is especially the case with אמר, giving in the imperfect לֵימָא,[2] תֵּימָא, נֵימָא; in the imperative אֵימָא. In the participle active אָמְרִינָא *I say* (§73).[3] From the last form must be distinguished אָמְרִינְהוּ *they say*, occurring only once, in Gitt. 56*b*. The variants אָמְרִי and אִימְּנוּ of editions are evidently 'erleichternde Lesarten.' The word is a compound of אֲנָא+אָמְרִי (§115).[4]

The apocopated forms of אמר in the imperfect are frequently found compounded with אִן *if*, giving the forms אִיתֵּימָא (=אִן+תֵּימָא), אִילֵּימָא (=אִן+לֵימָא) and אִינֵּימָא (=אִן+נֵימָא). From אִיתֵּימָא *if thou say* must be distinguished אִיתֵּימָא *there is one who says*, which is a compound of אִיתֵּיהּ *there is* and אָמָא *says* (§60, n. 1).

For verbs פ"א and ל"י, *cf.* §§600–615; for הֵימֶן *cf.* §623.

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

IMPERFECT.—§411. *3d sing. masc.: a)* לֵיכוֹל *eats*, Ber. 18*b*; נֵיזוֹל Sôt. 32*b*.

b) לִיזֵל C. MS. Meg. 12*b* (voc.); נִיזֵיל Ber. 27*b*.

c) לֵיזַל Ned. 8*a*; נֵיסַר *ties together*, Gitt. 69*a*.[5]

3d sing. fem.: a) תֵּיכוֹל Yeb. 70*a*.

[1] In *SM.* אזל drops its ל constantly.

[2] לִימָא *SM.* No. LXXIII. (voc.).

[3] אָמְרִינָא *HG.* 92, *passim*.

[4] *Cf.* the similar form אַסְהִידִינְהוּ, §232, n. 1.

[5] נֵימַר *says*, Ber. 28*a*, Pes. 9*a* and elsewhere in the phrase מַאי נֵימַר; נֵיכוֹל Qidd. 69*b*.

b) תֵּיזֵיל Sanh. 77*b*, 78*a*.

c) תֵּיחַד ʿEr. 75*b*; תֵּיזַל Sôt. 12*a*.

2d sing. masc.: תֵּיכוֹל Ned. 91*b*, Macc. 19*b*; תֵּיפוֹךְ Pes. 21*a*.

2d sing. fem.: תֵּיזְלִי *thou goest*, Keth. 54*a*.[1]

1st sing. com.: a) אֵימוֹר Pes. 74*b*; אֵיכוֹל Ber. 24*b*; אֵיפוֹךְ Pes. 74*b*, Zeb. 28*a*.[2]

b) אֵיזֵיל B. Q. 108*a*, Yeb. 65*a*; אֵבֵיל Pes. 74*b*.

c) אֵימַר Sabb. 137*b*, Yômâ 81*b*.

3d plur. masc.: לֵימְרוּ B. M. 65*b*; נֵימְרוּ Gitt. 69*a*; נֵיכְלוּ M. Q. 9*a*; לֵיזְלוּ ʿAr. 22*a*.

2d plur. masc.: תֵּימְרוּן Ber. 45*b*, Sabb. 140*b*; תֵּיכְלוּן Sabb. 140*b*.

2d plur. fem.: תֵּיזְלָא Ker. 17*b* (§216).

1st plur. com.: a) נֵיכוֹל M. MS. Ber. 31*b*.

b) נֵיזֵיל M. MS. Ber. 31*b*; נֵפֵיךְ ʿAr. 29*a*.

Imperative.—§412. *Sing. masc.: a*) אֵימוֹר B. M. 14*b*, M. Q. 2*a*; אֵיפוֹךְ Sabb. 59*a*, Pes. 21*a*; אֵיכוֹל Gitt. 69*a*; (אוּכְלֵיהּ *eat it*, Sabb. 118*a*).

b) אֵיזֵיל Ned. 53*a*; זֵיל *ibid.* 22*b*, 25*a*; אֲגֵיר *hire*, B. M. 111*a*.

c) אֱכַל Ḥag. 15*b*; אֵימַר M. Q. 26*a*, ʿEr. 44*a*, Sabb. 157*a*.

Sing. fem.: a) זִילִי *go*, B. M. 42*b*, Ned. 66*b*, M. Q. 16*b*.

b) אֲמַרִי Ned. 77*b*; אֲמַרִי B. M. 84*b*.

Plur. masc.: a) אֵיכִילוּ M. MS. Hôr. 12*a*; אֵיזִילוּ Bekh. 9*a*; זִילוּ Meg. 16*a*.[3]

b) אֲכַלוּ B. B. 21*b*; אֵימַרוּ *ibid.* 39*a*.

Infinitive.—§413. *a*) maqtal or miqtal: לְמֵימַר Ned. 9*b*, 10*a*;[4] מֵיכַל *ibid.* 4*b*, 49*b*, 73*a*; מֵיזַל *ibid.* 33*a*, Macc. 15*a*; לְמֵיגַר ʿEr. 80*a*; מֵינַס Ned. 27*ab*.

b) maqtalâ or miqtalâ: לְמֵימְרָא Ned. 9*a*, 16*a*.[5]

c) qŭtŭlê: אֲמוֹדֵי Ned. 9*b*; אֵימוֹרֵי C. MS. Pes. 89*b*.

[1] תֵּיזְלִין *HG.* 220.

[2] אֵיזוֹל *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §§9, 28.

[3] זִילוּ *SM.* No. xxvi. (voc.).

[4] מֵימָא *HG.* 140.

[5] In the phrase מַאי לְמֵימְרָא the ending ־ָא seems to be the objective suffix of the 3d sing. fem.

EXAMPLES FOR PA"ĒL.

§414. PERFECT.—אַדַּר *he distinguished*, Sanh. 63*b*.

IMPERFECT.—(אֲבַדִּינְהוּ *I shall destroy them*, Gitt. 57*b*);[1] תְּאַשַּׁר *mayest believe*, *ibid.* 30*b*.

IMPERATIVE.—אַשַּׁר *believe thou*, Gitt. 30*b*.

INFINITIVE.—אַבּוֹדֵי B. M. 51*a*; אַחוֹרֵי B. Q. 74*a*, Ker. 20*a*; לְאַבּוֹלֵי R. MS. B. M. 59*b*; (לְאַחֲרוּהַּ *to do it later*, Sabb. 119*a*).[2]

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—מְאַחֲרִי Ned. 4*a*, Ker. 20*a*; מְאַחֲרֵי B. Q. 74*a*; מַלְפֵי *they teach*, Keth. 62*a*; מְאַשְּׁרָן *they strengthen*, Gitt. 70*a*.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—מֵיכַּךְ *is seated in the saddle*, Nidd. 14*a*.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—מְאַבֵּילְנָא B. M. 59*b*; מְאַלֵּימְנָא *I strengthen*, Qidd. 43*a*.—מְאַחֲרִינָן Zeb. 86*b*; מַיְכִינָן Šebu. 41*a*.[3]

EXAMPLES FOR APH'ĒL.

§415. PERFECT.—אוֹגִיר *he hired*, B. M. 77*a*; אוֹרִיךְ *he waited*, Meg. 16*a*; אוֹגַר 'Er. 75*b*; אָגַר B. M. 65*a*.

IMPERFECT.—לוֹכִיל Yeb. 68*a*; לוֹגַר 'Er. 66*a*.—תּוֹרִיךְ 'Er. 54*a*.—תּוֹרְכוּ *ye will lengthen*, Ber. 8*a*, M. Q. 28*a*.

IMPERATIVE.—אוֹבִיד *lose*, B. M. 51*a*; אוֹגִיר 'Er. 80*a*; אוֹגַר B. M. 76*a*.[4]

INFINITIVE.—לְאוֹגוֹרֵי B. M. 116*a*; אוֹגִירֵי 'Er. 75*b*; לְאָגְרֵי B. M. 101*b*; לְאוֹגַר *ibid.* 92*a*; לְאָכוֹלֵי Yeb. 68*a*; לְאָגוֹרֵי B. M. 79*ab*; (לְאָגוֹרָה *ibid.*).[5]

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—מוֹגִיר A. Z. 15*a*; מַאֲחִיל 'Er. 31*a*; מַאֲרִיךְ Sanh. 109*b*; מַאֲכִיל Yeb. 68*a*; (מַאֲכִילְנָא B. M. 85*b*; מַאֲפֵלְתְּ *makest dark*, B. B. 7*a*; מוֹגַרְתְּ B. M. 6*a*; מוֹכְלִינָן Sanh. 20*a*); מָרְבוּ *they lie in wait*, A. Z. 39*b*.[6]

[1] *Cf.* Hebrew וַאֲבַדֵּךְ Ezek. 28:16.

[2] אַלָּפָא *Še'ēl.* 1.

[3] *Cf.* מַלְפָךְ *teaches thee*, Yeb. 63*a*.

[4] אוֹכוֹלֵי *give thou him to eat*, *HG.* ed. pr. 31*a*.

[5] לְאָגְרָא *HG.* ed. pr. 95*c*.

[6] מוֹרְכִין, *give power of attorney*, *HG.* ed. pr. 88*d*.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHP^{E}'ĒL.

PERFECT.—§416. *3d sing. masc.: a)* אִיתְּחִיד *was locked*, Ḥull. 52*b*.[1] *b)* אִיתְּרַע *happened*, M. Q. 18*a*; אִיתְּמַר B. Q. 32*a*; אִיתְּסַר Ned. 89*b*; אִיתְּנַח *sighed*, Meg. 16*a*.—*3d sing. fem.: a)* אִיתְּנִיסָא Ned. 90*b*, Gitt. 56*a*. *b)* אִיתְּרַעָה Macc. 6*b*; אִיתְּרָעָא M. Q. 11*b*; אִיתְּסָרָא Pes. 103*b*; אִיתַּמְרָה Ber. 45*b*.—*2d sing. masc.:* אִיתְּגַרְתָּא *thou hast hired thyself out*, Yômâ 20*b*, M. MS. אִיתְּגַרְתָּ.—*1st sing. masc.:* אִיתְּנִיסִי Sabb. 145*b*, M. MS. אִיתְּנִיסְי (§80).—*3d plur. masc.: a)* אִיתְּנִיסוּ Keth. 16*b*. *b)* אִיתְּסָרוּ Ned. 79*b*; אִיתְּגַרוּן Šebu. 48*a*. *c)* אִיתְּפוּךְ C. MS. M. Q. 25*b*.—*3d plur. fem.:* אִיתְּאֲמָרָן ʿEr. 43*a*.

IMPERFECT.—§417. *3d sing. masc.: a)* לִיתְּאֲכִיל *is eaten*, Zeb. 55*a*; נִתְּאֲכִיל *ibid.* 56*a*. *b)* לִיתְּסַר Sabb. 60*a*; נִיתְּסַר Pes. 67*a*; לִיסַּר M. MS. Sanh. 55*a*.—*3d sing. fem.: a)* תִּיתְּכִיל Bekh. 16*a*. *b)* תִּיתְּסַר Ned. 80*b*.—*1st sing. com.:* אֵיתְּסַר Qidd. 65*a*.—*3d plur. masc.:* ליתגרוה (B. M. 112*b*), read: לִיתַּגְּרוּ; לִיתַּסְּרֵי Men. 56*b*.—*3d plur. fem.:* לִיתְּסַרָן Ned. 79*b*.

INFINITIVE.—§418. *a)* 'ithqatûlê: אִיתְּסוֹרֵי Nidd. 23*a*; אִיתְּגּוֹרֵי B. M. 76*b*; אִיתְּנוֹסֵי R. H. 23*a*; אִתְּרוֹסֵי Yeb. 43*b*; אִיתְּנוֹחֵי M. MS. Ber. 59*a*; אִיתְּשׁוֹדֵי R. MS. Pes. 65*a*.

b) 'ithqatûlâ: אִיתְּסוֹרָא A. Z. 52*a*; לְאִיתְּגּוֹרָא Alf. B. M. 76*b*.

c) 'ithqatil: אִיתְּנִיס M. MS. Sabb. 145*b* (§80, *a*).

PARTICIPLE.—§419. *Sing. masc.: a)* מִיתְּאֲכִיל Qidd. 59*a*; מִיתְּכִיל Sabb. 109*a*; מִיתְּבִיד Pes. 5*b*; מִתְּשִׁיד O. MS. Pes. 65*a*.

b) מִיתְּסַר Sanh. 47*b*; מִתְּגַר B. M. 76*a*; מִיגַּר *ibid.*; מִיחַד Meg. 16*a*; מִתְּשַׁד O. MS. Pes. 65*a*.

Sing. fem.: מִיתְּאֲמָרָא Nāz. 50*b*, ʿAr. 15*b*, B. B. 39*a*; מִיתְּאֲכָלָא Bekh. 16*a*; מִתְּסָרָא Sanh. 47*b*, Ned. 80*a*, 91*a*; מִתְּגָרָא B. M. 65*a*.[2]

Plur. masc.: מִיתְּאֲכְלִי M. Q. 11*a*; מִיתְּכְלִי Bekh. 16*a*; מִיתַּגְּרֵי B. M. 76*a*.

Plur. fem.: מִיתְּאֲכְלָן Bekh. 16*a*.

[1] אִיתְּנִיס *SM.* No. LXX. (voc.).

[2] מִיסְּרָא *HG.* 293; מִישְׁתְּדָא *HG.* ed. pr. 128*c*, passing into ע"ר.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA"AL.

§420. PERFECT.—אִיאַבּוּל *they mourned*, Gitt. 57*a*.

INFINITIVE.—אִיתְאַבּוּלֵי *to mourn*, B. Q. 59*b*.[1]

PARTICIPLE.—מִיתְאַבֵּיל *mournes*, Sabb. 136*a*.

VERBS ע"א.

§421. Verbs of this class retain the א in many cases of the Qal and of the Pa"ēl. In all other cases they generally pass into verbs ע"י.

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

§422. PERFECT.—שְׁיֵיל *borrowed*, Taan. 21*b*; בְּאֵישׁ, בְּאַשׁ *he grew sick*, Ned. 40*a*.—שְׁאֵילִית Sabb. 130*b*, Bēçā 22*b*; שְׁאֵילִי B. Q. 40*a*; שְׁאֵלִית B. B. 36*b*; שְׁאֵלִי *I asked*, Taan. 23*b*.—שְׁאִילוּ *they asked*, Sabb. 152*b*; שְׁאוּל *ibid.* 30*a*.—שְׁאֵילְתּוּן B. M. 79*a*.—שְׁאֵילְנָא Yeb. 116*a*; C. MS. Meg. 2*b*.[2]

IMPERFECT.—לִישְׁאֵילוּ Sōtā 35*a*, לִישְׁאוֹלוּ 'En Y. *ibid.*[3]

IMPERATIVE.—שְׁאֵיל Ber. 9*b*; שְׁאוֹל B. M. 83*b*.—שְׁאִילִי Keth. 63*a*.—שְׁאִילוּ Me'îl. 17*b*.[4]

INFINITIVE.—לְמִישְׁאַל Me'îl. 17*b*, M. Q. 18*a*; לְמִישַׁל C. MS. M. Q. *ibid.*; מְשָׁאַב Pes. 74*b*, מִישַׁב M. MS. *ibid.*; מִימְאַס A. Z. 68*b*.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—שָׁאֵיב Pes. 74*b*; שָׁיֵיק Sanh. 64*a*; שָׁיֵיל Meg. 22*a*; כָּיֵיב Gitt. 68*b*.—דָּאֵיגָא Sabb. 156*b*.—שָׁאֲלִי Meg. 28*b*, שָׁיֵילִי M. MS. *ibid.*; שָׁאֵיבִי Pes. 74*b*; שָׁיֵיבִי M. MS. *ibid.*; דָּיֵיגוּ M. Q. 28*a*; דָּאֵיגִי Sabb. 86*b*; דָּיֵיגִי M. MS. *ibid.*; כָּיֵיבִין Ned. 54*b*.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—מָאִיס Keth. 61*b* (§84); מְאִיסָא Sanh. 39*a*; מְאִיסְתָּא Pes. 34*a*; מְאִיסִי Yeb. 100*a*.

EXAMPLES FOR PA"ĒL.

§423. PERFECT.—שַׁיֵּיל Taan. 21*b*; שַׁיֵּיר *he left*, M. Q. 21*b*, Taan. 14*a*.—שַׁיֵּירִית *I left over*, B. B. 61*b*.

IMPERFECT.—לִישַׁיֵּילוּ Gitt. 56*a*.[5]

[1] לְאִיתְאַחוֹרֵי *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §321.

[2] שְׁאֵילְתָּא, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §376.

[3] But this may also be Pa"ēl.

[4] שְׁרִילוּ *HG.* 429.

[5] לִימַּאוּן *HG.* ed. pr. 110*d*.

Imperative.—שַׁיְּרוּ *leave ye*, Succā 36*a*.

Infinitive.—שַׁיְּרֵי ʿAr. 16*a*, Sabb. 12*b*; שַׁיּוֹלֵי Meg. 22*a*; שָׁאוֹלֵי H. MS. B. Q. 37*a*; שַׁיֵּילוּ A. Z. 27*b*, שַׁיֵּילֵי Raši *ibid.*

Active Participle.—מְשָׁאֵיל Yeb. 76*b*; מְשַׁיֵּיר B. B. 72*a*; (מְשַׁיֵּילְנָא *I ask*, Taan. 32*a*).—מְשַׁיְּילָא *loans*, Taan. 21*b*; מְשַׁיְּרָא Pes. 9*b*.—מְשַׁיְּילִי Taan. 21*b*; מְשָׁאֲלִי B. M. 27*b*, H. MS. B. Q 37*a*; (מְשַׁיְּירְנָן M. Q. 9*a*).[1]

Passive Participle.—מְסָאַב *unclean*, M. MS. A. Z. 39*b*; מְסָאֲבָא Tem. 22*a*.

EXAMPLES FOR APHʿĒL.

§424. אוֹשְׁלָה *she lent*, Gitt. 77*b*, 79*a*.—אוֹשְׁלַתְּ M. MS. Taan. 29*a*.—לְאוֹשׁוֹלֵי Keth. 105*b*.—מוֹשִׁיל A. Z. 15*a*; מְשִׁיל ʿAr 24*a*; מוֹשְׁלִי Gitt. 77*b*, Yeb. 120*b*.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPEʿĒL.

§425. Perfect.—אִיתְּשִׁיל Ḥull. 52*b*, Keth. 77*b*; אִיתְּשָׁל ʿEn Y. Keth. *ibid.*—אִיתְּשִׁילִי Ned. 65*a*, אִיתְּשִׁילִית ʿEn Y. *ibid.*[2]

Imperfect.—נִיתְּשִׁיל Ned. 90*a*.—לִימַּאֲסָן Yeb. 15*a*.

Imperative.—אִיתְּשִׁיל Sôtā 36*b*; אִיתְּשָׁלִי *ibid.*

Infinitive.—אִיתְּשׁוֹלֵי Ned. 59*a*, Yeb. 88*a*.[3]

Participle.—מִתְּשִׁיל Ned. 59*a*, ʿEr. 30*b*; מִמְּאִיס Ber. 50*b*, 51*a*; מִתְּשָׁל M. MS. ʿEr. 30*b*; מִמִּיס, מִמִּיסָה Pes. 28*a*.—מִימַּאֲסִי Yeb. 15*a*; מִתְּשָׁלִין Ned. 65*a*.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPAʿʿAL.

§426. Perfect.—אִישְׁתַּיִּיר *he remained*, Sanh. 95*a*; אִשְׁתָּאַר Qidd. 12*b*.—אִישְׁתַּיְּירָא B. B. 36*a*.—אִישְׁתַּיְּירִי B. M. 84*a*.—אִישְׁתַּיִּיר Sabb. 43*a*.[4]

Imperfect.—נִשְׁתַּיִּיר Nidd. 42*a*.—נִישְׁתַּיְּירוּ Sabb. 60*b*.

[1] מְתַיְּירְמָא Alfāsī Succā 32*b*.

[2] אִישְׁתְּאִילַת *HG.* ed. pr. 84*b*.

[3] לְאִישְׁתּוֹלֵי *HG.* ed. pr. 75*b*; אִישְׁאוֹלֵי *HG.* 400.

[4] אִשְׁתַּיְּירָאן *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §376.

VERBS פו״י.

§427. The only verb which retains initial ו is וּוּם *to stain, soak*, all other פ״ו verbs became פ״י in the Qal.[1] The initial י was probably pronounced as a consonant. These verbs present the following peculiarities:

In Qal: יתב *to sit*, drops its י in the imperative; יהב *to give*, does it sometimes also in the perfect.[2]

In Aph'ēl: ימן *to go to the right*, has in a variant the form אַיְמִין; all other verbs pass into פ״ו stems. A few forms assimilate their י by analogy of פ״ן verbs.

In Ithpe'el: Some forms of יצר and ילד pass into ע״ו stems יתב is sometimes contracted to אִיתִּיב.

In Ithpa''al: Some forms are contracted. For verbs פו״י and לו״י see §§598, 599.

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

PERFECT.—§428. *3d sing. masc.: a)* יְכִיל M. Q. 28*a*, Macc. 10*a*; יְבִישׁ *was withered*, Gitt. 69*b*; יְזִיף *borrowed*, 'Er. 63*b*; יְהִיב *gave*, Ned. 50*ab*, 62*b*; יְתִיב *he sat*, Bêçā 20*a*.

b) יְדַע Ned. 50*b*, Macc. 6*b*; יְהַב Ned. 50*b*, Ber. 58*a*; הַב MSS. Ber. 58*a*.

3d sing. fem.: a) יְלִידָא Macc. 17*b*; יְהִיבָה Qidd. 60*a*.[3]

b) יְדַעַת, יְלַדַת, Ned. 50*b*; יְרַקַת Yeb. 39*b*; יְהַבָה Ned. 43*b*; יְתַבָה V. L. Sanh. 109*b*.

2d sing. masc.: יְהַבְתְּ Sanh. 109*a*, Ber. 56*a*; יְזַפְתְּ Šebu. 37*a*

2d sing. fem.: יְהַבְית Keth. 85*a*.

1st sing. com.: a) יְכִילִית B. B. 73*b*; יְכִילִי *ibid.* 26*a*, Sanh. 49*a*

b) יְהַבִית A. Z. 10*b*, Sabb. 105*b*; יְלַפִית Tām. 32*a*; יְלַפִי Šebu. 37*a*; יְדַעִי Qidd. 40*a*.

3d plur. masc.: a) יְתִיבוּ Keth. 62*b*; יְבִישׁוּ B. M. 74*a*; יְתִיבִי 'En. Y. Yômâ 69*b*.

b) יְהַבוּ Macc. 10*a*; יְרַתוּ B. B. 118*b*; הַבוּ Ḥull. 50*a*.[4]

c) יְתִיבוּ *they sat*, M. MS. Sabb. 49*a*.

[1] According to Praetorius in Nestle's *Syriac Grammar*, remark *ad* §40*a* (p. xi), the פ״ר verbs are the older and the פ״ל in Syriac and in Arabic a later production.

[2] Of the three synonymous verbs יהב, נתן, יתב, the first is never used in the imperfect, the two last never in the perfect, or in the participle.

[3] וְרִיתַת *HG.* ed. pr. 105*d*; וְלִידַת *ibid.* 108*b*.

[4] אַהַבוּ *they gave*, *SM.* Nos. XCIV., CXVI.

1st plur. com.: *a*) יְכֵילְנָן B.B. 73*b*; יְכֵילָנָן H. MS. *ibid.*

b) יְהַבְנָן, הַבְנָן, *ibid.*; יְהַבְנָא B.M. 5*b*.

Imperfect.—§429. *3d sing. masc.:* *a*) לֵיזוֹק Taan. 12*b*; לֵיתוֹב Ḥull. 135*a*, M.Q. 9*b*, A.Z. 28*b*.

b) לֵיתֵיב A.Z. 28*b*, Pes. 86*a*; נֵיתֵיב Sabb. 119*a*; נֵיזֵק Qidd. 20*a*.

c) לֵיתַב ʿAr. 30*b*, Nidd. 65*a*; לֵילַק Yeb. 17*b*; נֵידַע Ker. 5*b*; נודע *ibid.*, read נֵידַע.

3d sing. fem.: *a*) תֵּילוֹד Macc. 17*b*; תֵּיחוֹד *closes*, Gitt. 77*b*; תֵּירוֹת Sabb. 116*b*.

b) תֵּילֵיד Macc. 17*b*.

c) תֵּדַע Qidd. 80*b*.

2d sing. masc.: תֵּיתֵיב ʿEr. 54*a*; [ב]תֵּיתֵי Macc. 3*b*.[1]

1st sing. com.: אֵיתֵיב *I give*, Bekh. 44*b*, Sanh. 98*b*.

3d plur. masc.: לֵיתְבוּן ʿEr. 53*b*; לֵיתְבוּ B.B. 8*a*; נֵיתְבוּ *ibid.* 143*a*, Taan. 25*b*; לֵירְתוּ B. B. 159*b*; לֵילְפוּ M. MS. Er. 2*b*, 54*a*; לֵילְפִי Yeb. 61*b*; לֵידְעוּ Taan. 22*a*.

3d plur. fem.: לֵילְפָן Sabb. 65*b*.

2d plur. masc.: תֵּירְתוּן Yômâ 72*b*; תֵּיתְבוּ B.B. 40*b*.[2]

1st plur. com.: נֵילֵיךְ Ber. 62*b*; נֵיתְבִי Taan. 25*a* (§233).

Imperative.—§430. *Sing. masc.:* הַב Ber. 5*b*, Pes. 74*b*; תֵּיב Ḥag. 5*b*, Yôm. 74*b*.

Plur. masc.: הַבוּ Sanh. 109*a*; הַבִי M. MS. *ibid.* 109*b*; תֵּיבוּ Hôr. 12*a*.[3] (With suffixes יְהַבָהּ *give her*, Sanh. 109*b*; יְהַבוּהוּ *give ye him*, Gitt. 57*b*).

Infinitive.—§431. *a*) miqtal: מֵידַע Hôr. 12*a*, Ned. 88*a*, Macc. 6*b*; מִידָע C. MS. Pes. (voc.);[4] מֵיהַב Ber. 9*b*; מֵיתַב B. M. 63*b*; מֵינַק Ned. 55*b*; לְמֵיבַשׁ *to dry*, B. M. 74*a*.

b) miqtalâ: מֵיהָבָה Qidd. 9*a*; מֵיתְבָא *ibid.* 106*b*; לְמֵיזְפָא B. M. 17*a*.

c) miqtalê: מֵינְקֵי Ber. 40*b*; מֵידְעֵי B. M. 92*b*.

Active Participle.—§432. *Sing. masc.:* יָדֵע Ned. 8*a*; יָהֵיב *ibid.* 15*a*; יָלִיף *ibid.* 22*a*; יָתֵיב *ibid.* 29*b*.[5]

[1] תְּהַב *SM.* No. ccxiii.

[2] תֵּיתְיבוּ *HG.* ed. pr. 101*d*.

[3] Here we find לָא תֵּיבוּ, the imperative with a negative.

[4] לְמִינְדַּע Alfâsî Sanh. Pereq iv.

[5] יָכוֹל *Igg. Šerîrâ* 24; יָאֲתֵיב *SM.* No. v. *a* (voc.). *Cf.* §554, n. 3.

Sing. fem.: יְדַעַת Ned. 91*a*; יְדָעָא *ibid.* 63*b*; יְתָבָא B. B. 73*b*.

Plur. masc.: יְתָבִי Ber. 9*b*, Ned. 29*b*; יָנְקִי Ned. 55*b*; יְדָעֵי *ibid.* 62*b*.[1]

Plur. fem.: יְתָבָן Pes. 111*a*.

Passive Participle.—§433. *Sing. masc.:* יְדִיעַ Ned. 55*a*, Ber. 48*a*; יְקוּד Sanh. 33*b*; יְלוּד M. MS. A. Z. 10*b*.

Sing. fem.: יְהִיבָה Sabb. 105*b*; יְהִיבָא Sanh. 107*a*.

Plur. masc.: יְהִירִין Meg. 14*b*; יְהִירָאִין M. MS. *ibid.* (nominal ending).

EXAMPLES FOR APH'ĒL.

Perfect.—§434. *3d sing. masc.:* אוֹדֵיק B. M. 60*b*, 63*b*; אוֹתֵיב *he placed*, M. Q. 25*a*; אוֹלֵיד Sanh. 69*a*; אוֹמַן *turned to the right*, Yômâ 72*b*, O. MS. Sabb. 88*b*, M. MS. *ibid.* אַיְימִין; אוֹדִיק *looked*, Ḥull. 95*b*.

3d sing. fem.: אוֹתְיְבָה Keth. 60*a*, Sanh. 109*b*; אוֹתֵיבָא A. Z. 17*b*; אוֹלֵידָה B. B. 133*b*; אוֹלֵידַת 'En Y. Ned. 50*a*.

2d sing. masc.: אוֹזַפְתָּ B. B. 164*b*, Sabb. 66*b*; אוֹדַעְתָּ Ḥull. 58*b*

2d sing. fem.: אוֹזַפְתְּ M. MS. Sabb. 66*b*.

1st sing. com.: אוֹתֵיבִי *I placed*, Bêçā 16*b*.

3d plur. masc.: אוֹתְיבוּ *sat*, Yômâ 69*b*; אֵיתֵיבִי *placed*, Qidd. 8*b*, Bêçā 6*a*.

3d plur. fem.: אוֹקְדָן *set on fire*, Sanh. 93*a*.

2d plur. masc.: אוֹתַבְתּוּן O. MS. Pes. 87*b*; 'En Y. *ibid.* אוֹתְבִיתוּן.[2]

Imperfect.—§435. *3d sing. masc.:* לוֹסֵיק R. H. 17*b*; נוֹזֵק 'Ar. 30*b*.

2d sing. masc.: תּוֹסֵיק Pes. 114*a*.

2d sing. fem.: תּוֹתֵיב Alfâsî Yeb. 85*a*.

1st sing. com.: אוֹלֵיד B. B. 91*a*; אוֹתִיר Sabb. 67*a*.

3d plur. masc.: (לַתְּבוּהָ *let them place her*, Sabb. 110*a*).

Imperative.—§436. *2d sing. masc.:* אוֹלֵיד *beget*, B. B. 91*a*; אַתֵּיב *put down*, Sabb. 77*b*.

2d plur. masc.: אוֹקִירוּ *honor ye*, B. M. 57*a*; אוֹבִילוּ *bring ye*, Gitt. 67*b*.

Infinitive.—§437. אוֹדוֹעֵי Sanh. 89*b*; אוֹרוֹתֵי *to will*, B. B. 131*a*; אוֹלוֹדֵי Bêçā 23*a*; אוֹתוֹבֵי *to place*, M. Q. 25*a*; לְאֵיתוֹבֵי

[1] יָהֲבִינוּ *we give*, *MV.* 85.

[2] אוֹדַעְנָא *we informed*, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §439; אוֹלִידְנָא Alfâsî, Yeb. 65*a*.

O. MS. Pes. 87*b*; אוֹסִיפִי A. Z. 30*a*; (לְאוֹתְיָבָהּ Gitt. 57*b*); אַסוֹפֵי Keth. 64*a*; אַנוֹקֵי A. Z. 26*a*; לְאוֹדוֹעֵן B. M. 42*b*;[1] אוֹסָפֵי ʿEr. 5*b*; אוֹסוֹפֵי Bêçā 23*a*.

Active Participle.—§438. *Sing. masc.*: מוֹסִיף ʿEr. 5*b*; מוֹלִיד Bêçā 23*a*; מוֹבִיל Sanh. 95*a*; מוֹדַע M. Q. 21*b*; מוֹקַר and מוֹקִיר *he honors*, Sabb. 119*a*; מוֹכַח Gitt. 57*b*, M. MS. Sanh. 96*b*; מוֹסַק Keth. 64*a*; (מוֹבִילְנָא *I carry*, ʿEr. 27*b*; מוֹבַלְנָא B. M. 41*a*)

Sing. fem.: מוֹקְרָא M. MS. Ber. 48*a*.

Plur. masc.: מוֹבְלִין Succā 53*a* (Palest.); מוֹדְעִי Sanh. 89*a*; מוֹדְעוּ Yômâ 18*b*.

Passive Participle.—§439. מוֹסְפָא ʿAr. 30*b*; but this may be the Hophʿal as מוּכְחָא.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHP^{E}ʿĒL.

Perfect.—§440. *3d sing. masc.*: *a*) אִיתְלֵיד Sabb. 156*a*; אִיתְיְהֵיב Sanh. 93*a*; אִיתְלִיד ʿEr. 56*a*; אִיתִיב *set himself down*, Sanh. 100*a*.[2]

b) אִיתְיַהֵב Sabb. 137*a*; אִיתְיְדַע *ibid.* 71*a*; אִיתְיַדַע Meʿîlā 10*a*

c) אִיתּוֹב Ḥull. 53*a*.

3d sing. fem.: אִיתְיְהִיבָה M. MS. Pes. 72*b*; אִיתְיְהִיבָא Ḥag. 15*a*; אִיתְיְלִידָא Ḥull. 9*a*, B. B. 16*b*; אִתְיְלִידָא *delivered herself, bore*, Taan. 23*a*; אִתְלִידָא C. MS. Pes.

2d sing. masc.: אִיתְיְבַתְּ Šebu. 42*a*.

3d plur. masc.: דְּיִילִידוּ (=דְּאִילִידוּ) Ned. 30*b*; אִיתִיבוּ Sabb. 33*b*; אִיתַבוּ *ibid.*; אִיתְלוּד Yeb. 71*a*.

Imperfect.—§441. אִיתְיַלְדָן [דְּ] *who will be born* (=דְּיִתְיַלְדָן?) Ned. 30*b*.

Infinitive.—§442. אִיתְלוֹדֵי Gitt. 85*a*.

Participle.—§443. *Sing. masc.*: מִיתְיְלִיד Meg. 12*b*; מִיתְצַר Yômâ 85*a*, Sôtā 45*b*.

Sing. fem.: מִיתְיְלִידָא Ber. 53*b*, Taan. 25*a*, Bêçā 12*b*; מִתְלִידָא Bêçā 2*b*.

Plur. fem.: מִתְיַלְדָן Ned. 30*b*; מִיתַלְדָן Bêçā 2*b*, eds. מִתְלִידָן.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPAʿʿAL.

Perfect.—§444. *3d sing. masc.*: *a*) אִתְיַדַע *was made aware*, Sabb. 71*b*; אִיתְיַקַר *escaped the memory*, B. B. 9*b*; אִיתַיְקַר *id.* A. Z.

[1] But *cf.* §716.

[2] אִיתְיְהִיבּ *SM.* No. XXVIII. (voc.).

46*b*;[1] אִיַּקַּר *became dear, rose in price*, B. Q. 46*a*, ʿAr. 30*a*; אִיְּאַשׁ *he gave up*, B. Q. 28*a*; אִיאַשׁ F. MS. B. M. 21*b*; אִיְּיעַד *was warned*, B. Q. 4*a*.

b) אִיְּיאוֹשׁ B. M. 22*a*, Raši B. Q. 68*b*; אִיאוֹשׁ eds. B. Q. 68*b*.

3d sing. fem.: אִיַּיקְרָא Ber. 5*b*, B. M. 77*a*; אִיַּיתְּרָה Nidd. 30*b*.

1st sing. com.: אִתְּיַיקְּרִי *I am honored*, Meg. 28*a*.

3d plur. masc.: אִיַּיתְּרוּ Men. 93*a*, Keth. 29*b*; אִיַּיתְּרִי *remained*, ʿAr. 2*b*; אִיַּיתּוּר Sabb. 64*a* (this may also be the singular); אִיתּוּר Ḥull. 90*b*; אִיקּוּר *rose in price*, B. M. 108*a*; אִיַּיקּוּר Gitt. 52*a*; אִיתְּיַקְּרוּ M. MS. Sanh. 46*b*.

Imperfect.—§445. *3d sing. masc.*: נִיבַּשׁ *is dried*, Gitt. 69*b*; לִיאַשׁ M. MS. B. M. 21*b*.

3d plur. masc.: לִיתְּיַיקְּרוּ Sanh. 47*a*; לִיַּיקְּרוּ *ibid.* 46*b*.

Infinitive.—§446. אִתְּיַיקְּרִי Meg. 28*a*; אִיַּיתּוּרֵי M. MS. B. Q. 67*b*; לְאִיְּיעוֹדֵי M. MS. B. Q. 24*a*; לְיַיחּוֹדֵי *to be closeted*, Sanh. 37*a*; אִיאוֹשֵׁי B. M. 21*b*, 22*ab*; אִיתּוֹבֵי Sabb. 128*b*.[2]

Participle.—§447. *Sing. masc.*: מְיַיתַּר B. Q. 67*b*; מְיַיקַּר Sanh. 46*b*; M. MS. מִתְּיַיקַּר; מֵיאַשׁ Bêçā 22*b*, B. M. 22*ab*; מֵיהַר *is overbearing*, Sôt. 47*b*; מְיֻתָּר *superfluous*, *TF.*, Ker. 6*a*.

Sing. fem.: מְיִתְּבָא Sabb. 128*b*.

Plur. masc.: מְיַיקְּרִי, מִתְּיַיקְּרִי, Sanh. 46*b*; מִתְּיַיקְּרִי Meg. 28*a*; מִתְּיָיאֲשִׁי M. MS. B. B. 101*a*; מֵיאֲשִׁי B. M. 21*b*, F. M. מְיָיאֲשִׁי; מֵיאוֹשׁ B. M. 21*b*; מְיֻתָּרִין *superfluous*, *TF.*, Ker. 4*b*, 5*a*.

VERBS ע״ע.

§448. Verbs of this class are closely allied with ע״ו verbs, many of whose forms they assume. This is especially the case in the active participle of Qal and in the whole intensive stem Sometimes they pass into forms of verbs ל״ו, less frequently into those of פ״ו. In verbs with a transitive meaning the forms are frequently treated as fully triconsonantal by doubling the second stem-consonant.[3]

In the Aphʿēl the preformative takes sometimes *i* which is produced to *ē*. See further §§475–479.

[1] Jastrow's assumption that אריקר stands for אריעקר is unnecessary.

[2] לְאִיתְּבוֹרְמֵי *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §91.

[3] For the origin of such forms *cf.* H. Grimme, *Grundzüge der hebräischen Accent- u Vocallehre*, p. 83.

Qal, Pa''ēl, and Aph'ēl.

	QAL.	PA''ĒL.	APH'ĒL.
PERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	עָל , כַּח	עִיֵּל	אַעִיל
3d fem. . . .	עָלָה , ־ַת	עִיְּלָא	אַעִילָא
2d masc. . .	עָלְתְּ	עִיֵּלְתְּ	אַעִילְתְּ
2d fem. . . .	עָלִית	——	——
1st com. . .	עָלִי[ת]	——	——
Plur. 3d masc. . .	עָלוּ , עוּל	עִיְּלוּ , עִיּוּל	אַעִילוּ , אַעוּל
2d masc. . .	עָלִיתוּ	——	——
1st com. . .	עָלִינָן	עִיְּלִינָן	——
IMPERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לֵיעוֹל	לֵיעַיֵּל	——
3d fem. . . .	תֵּיעוֹל	תְּעַיֵּל	——
2d masc. . .	תֵּיעוֹל	תְּעַיֵּל	תַּעֵיל
1st com. . .	אֵיעוֹל	——	——
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לֵיעֲלוּ[ן]	לֵיעַיְּלוּ	——
1st com. . .	נֵיעוֹל	——	——
IMPERATIVE—			
Sing. 2d masc. . .	עוֹל	עַיֵּל	אַעֵיל
Plur. 2d masc. . .	עוּלוּ	עַיְּלוּ	——
INFINITIVE	מֵיעַל	עַיּוֹלֵי	אַעוֹלֵי
PARTICIPLE—			
Active, sing. masc.	עָאֵל , עָיֵל	מְעַיֵּל	מַעֵיל
fem. .	עָיְלָא	מְעַיְּלָא	מַעֲלָא
Passive, sg. masc.	עִיל , (עַיִל)	——	——
fem. .	עִילָא , (עַיְלָא)	——	——

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

PERFECT.—§449. *3d sing. masc.: a)* עָל *he entered*, C. MS. Pes. 112*b* (voc.); עָאל B. B. 41*b*, Bekh. 8*b;* חַק *hollowed out*, Pes. 28*a;* חַט M. MS. *ibid.*, ʿArûkh Sabb. 103*a;* קַר Sabb. 134*a;* כַּת M. Q. 25*a;* קַץ *he cut down*, B. M. 65*a;* כַּס *chew*, Yômâ 81*b*, Ber. 36*b;* לַט *he cursed*, Sanh. 113*a;* גָּזַר *he cut*, Ḥull. 135*a;* גָּרַר *dragged*, Sabb. 29*b;* חָשַׁשׁ Pes. 111*b;* רָקַק *spit out*, Ned. 66*b.*

b) צִיל *was clear*, Sabb. 66*b.*

c) עוֹל *went up*, B. B. 132*b.*

3d sing. fem.: a) רָקַת *she spit*, Yeb. 106*b;* קָשָׁה *she grew old*, B. B. 167*b;* עָלַת Taan. 23*b;* עָלְתָא B. Q. 48*a;* עָלְתָה Ber 51*b;* רָקָקָה Yeb. 105*a.*

b) צִילָאי, with ל״י ending, ʿEr. 64*a.*

2d sing. masc.: מָצַתְּ *thou didst suck*, Ḥull. 58*b.*

2d sing. fem.: מָצַת B. B. 9*b.*

1st sing. com.: a) עָלִית Sabb. 140*a;* חָשִׁי *ibid.*

b) חָשֵׁאי *I reflected*, Ḥull. 17*b;* קָשֵׁאי *I have grown old*, Ḥag. 13*a;* by analogy with verbs ל״י.

3d plur. masc.: a) עָלוּ M. Q. 12*a;* קָצוּ M. MS. B. M. 108*a;* תָּמוּ Nidd. 59*b;* צָרוּ Sabb. 51*b*,[1] גָּזוּ Succa 30*b.*

b) קוֹצוּ *they cut down*, B. M. 108*a.*

c) עוֹל Bekh. 7*a*, Gitt. 72*a*, Yalq. MS. A. Z. 2*b.*

2d plur. masc.: תָּפִיתוּ *ye spit*, Nidd. 42*a*, Sabb. 99*b;* תָּפִישׁוּ M. MS. *ibid.*,[2] read אִיתְפִּיתוּ O. MS. *ibid.*[3]

1st plur. com.: קְשִׁישְׁנָא B. Q. 92*b;* קְשִׁישְׁנָן M. MS. *ibid.*, B. B. 142*b;* קַשִׁינָן V. L. B. Q. 92*b.*[4]

IMPERFECT.—§450. *3d sing. masc.: a)* לֵיחוֹשׁ Macc. 5*a;* לְחוּשׁ Ḥull. 11*b;* לִיגּוֹז Succ. 37*b;* לִילּוֹךְ *mixes thoroughly*, M. MS. Sabb. 134*a;* לִימּוֹד *swims*, Gitt. 67*b;* לֵיעוֹל Ber. 2*b;* נֵיעוֹל M. Q. 25*a;* לִיבְרוֹר *picks out*, Bekh. 57*a;* לִיגְדוֹז *shears*, Ḥull. 135*a;* נִגְרוֹר *scrapes off*, Ḥull. 83*b;* נִילְתּוֹת *washes grain*, O. MS. Pes. 36*a.*

b) לִיצֵיל *is clear*, Sabb. 66*b;* לִימֵיץ *sucks*, *ibid.* 109*b.*

[1] צָרוּר *SM.* No. xcv. with diphthongization of *û*; *cf.* §532.

[2] With change of ת to שׁ, as in Neo-Syriac.

[3] With prothetic א; *cf.* §§87, 88, 91.

[4] The forms קשישנא, קשישנן are more probably adjectives and should be vocalized קַשִׁישְׁנָא, קַשִׁישְׁנָן.

c) נִיהֵל *lifts*, Sabb. 128*b*; לִילַךְ *ibid.* 134*a*; לִיפַּר *annuls*, Ned. 72*b*; לִיגַּזּ *shears*, Ḥull. 135*a*.

3d sing. fem.: תִּירוֹק *spits*, Yeb. 105*a*; תְּקוּץ *cuts down*, B. B. 60*b*; תְּחוּשׁ R. H. 21*b*.

1st sing. com.: אֶיקוֹץ B. B. 60*b*, B. M. 107*a*; אֶיעוֹל Ned. 49*a*, Meg. 29*a*.

3d plur. masc.: לֶיעֱלוּן Ned. 39*b*; נִיקְצוּ M. MS. B. M. 107*b*; נְגָרְרוּ Ber. 63*b*; (לִיגְזְזוּהָ Succ. 30*ab*); לוֹקְצוּ Ker. 28*b*.

2d plur. masc.: תְּגָזְזוּ Succ. 30*a*.

1st plur. com.: נֵיחוֹשׁ Yômâ 35*b*; נִיקוֹץ B. M. 107*b*; נָקוּץ *ibid.* 92*b*.

Imperative.—§451. *Sing. masc.*: *a*) קוֹץ B. B. 60*b*; תּוֹם *spit out*, Keth. 61*b*; מוֹךְ *spread*, Ber. 59*a*; עוֹל B. M. 83*b*, Pes. 94*b*; בְּרוֹר *demonstrate*, B. B. 29*b*.

b) קֹץ M. MS. B. M. 110*b*.

c) הַל *deduct*, Sabb. 89*b* and frequently.

Plur. masc.: *a*) עוּלוּ Sanh. 70*b*, M. MS. Hôr. 12*a*; קוּצוּ B. M. 107*b*, 108*a*; חוּגוּ *celebrate*, Ḥag. 10*b*.[1]

b) הַלוּ O. MS. Pes. 111*b*; עֲלוּ Hôr. 12*a*.

Infinitive.—§452. *a*) miqtal: מְקָץ *to cut down*, B. Q. 85*a*; מִיכַּת C. MS. Meg. 12*a* (voc.); מִיעַל Ber. 6*b*; מִירַק Ned. 66*b*; מִיגַּז *to cut*, Ned. 68*a*; מִידַּק B. M. 74*a*; מִיקַּר Sabb. 134*a*; לְמִיצַּר *to tie up*, Ber. 23*b*; לְמִיצָּרַר M. MS. *ibid.*; מִיזָּקַק *to tie, obligate*, Yeb. 22*b*; מִילְתַּת *to wash grain*, Pes. 36*a*; לְמִגָּז 2 M. MS. Pes. 111*b*; מִגָּרַר *ibid.* 107*b*, 108*a*; לְמִישָׁלַל *to stitch together*, M. Q. 24*a*.[2]

b) qŭtŭlê: לְגָזוֹז *to go out of the way*, 2 M. MS. Pes. 111*b*.

Active Participle.—§453. *Sing. masc.*: קָאֵץ B. B. 26*a*; חָאֵים H. MS. *ibid.* 19*a*; קָאֵיר *ibid.*; בָּיֵיל Men. 65*a*; מָיֵיץ Sabb. 88*a*; חָיֵים B. B. 19*a*; קָיֵיר M. MS. *ibid.*; גָּיֵיז Ned. 68*a*; פָּיֵים Ber. 8*a*; חָיֵיק Sabb. 149*a*; עָיֵיל Macc. 8*a*; צָיֵיר Yeb. 63*a*; קָר Sabb. 134*a*, in Hebrew fashion; לָתֵית Pes. 36*a*; גָּרִיר *ibid.* 107*b*, B. M. 85*a*; קָרִיר B. B. 19*a*; חָמִים F. MS. *ibid.*; קָצִיץ B. M. 93*a*; רָתִית *trembles*, B. B. 167*a*.

Sing. fem.: חָיְמָא Ḥull. 8*b*; חָיְצָא Zeb. 19*a*.

[1] עוֹלוּ *SM.* No. xxvi. (voc.).

[2] מִיכְּרִיז *TG.* ed. Cassel, §34.

Plur. masc.: עֲיִילִין A. Z. 38*b;* עֲיִילִי M. Q. 14*b;* תֵּיתִמִי ʿEr 88*ab;* חֵיכִי Sanh. 103*a;* עָלִין M. MS. Pes. 64*b;* לָתְתִי Pes. 40*a;* בָּרְרוּ Sanh. 23*a;* כַּיְפִין C. MS. Meg. 12*a* (voc.).

Plur. fem.: עֲיִילָן Ḥull. 50*b;* דָּבְבָן *murmur*, ʿArûkh *s. v* דבב.[1]

Passive Participle.—§454. *Sing. masc.: a)* שִׁיעַ Ḥull. 47*b;* זִיג *clear*, Pes. 74*b*, Sabb. 134*a;* רִיעַ *bad*, Taan. 29*b;* קִיל Sanh 46*a;* צִיל M. MS. Sabb. 23*a;* צַיְיל ʿArûkh *ibid.;* דַּיְיק *powdered*, Bêçā 14*b;* לַיְיק *joined*, Ḥull. 11*a;* כַּיְיק Keth. 103*b;* צַיְיר *tied up*, Ḥull. 105*b;* שַׁיְיק Sanh. 88*b;* זַיְיג ʿArûkh Pes. 74*b* (§80); כְּזִזְ M. MS. Pes. 72*b;* צְלִיל Sabb. 23*a;* חֲקִיק B. B. 74*a.—e.* רְעִיעָא Taan. 20*b;* טְמִירְמָא M. Q. 4*b.*

b) חֲקִיק *is engraved*, Gitt. 68*b;* קוּץ *is cut down*, B. B. 59*a.*

Sing. fem.: שִׁיעָא *is smooth*, Ḥull. 47*b;* רִיעָא *weak*, Keth. 36*b;* כְּזִזָא *is shy, shrinks*, Nidd. 15*b;* חֲבִיבָא *beloved*, Ber. 43*a;* אֲנִינָא Ḥull. 112*a.—e.* קִילְתָא Nāz. 12*b;* רְעִיעֲתָא Taan. 20*b.*

Plur. masc.: a) שִׁיעִי Pes. 30*b;* קִילִי Gitt. 35*a;* קִיצִי B. B. 88*a;* זִיגִי Ḥull. 16*b;* צִירִי 2 R. MS. B. M. 24*b*, 108*b;* לִיפִי H. MS. B. M. 100*b;* זַיְיגִי ʿArûkh Ḥull. 76*b;* צַיְירִי B. M. 24*b*, 108*b;* לַיְיפִי *joined, connected*, ʿArûkh B. M. 100*b;* יַילְפִי eds. *ibid.;*[2] לָפִי M. MS. *ibid.;* גָּרִי, גָּרוּ, *are attracted*, Bekh. 30*b* (§83); גְּרִירִין B. Q. 18*b;* גְּזִזִין Sanh. 106*b;* גְּזִזוּ ʿEn Y. *ibid.*

Plur. fem.: טִימָן *are closed up*, ʿEr. 6*b;* חֲבִיבָן Sabb. 10*b*, 33*b.—e.* חלילת, read: חֲלִילָתָא *hollow, ibid.* 57*a.*[3]

Participles with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.—§455. *Active Participle: a)* כַּיְיפְנָא *I force*, Gitt. 38*a;* עֲיִילְנָא *I enter*, Ḥull. 7*b;* קָצַיְינָא *I cut down*, M. MS. B. B. 4*a.*[4]

b) עֲיִילַתְ Ber. 7*b*, 62*b;* חֵיישַׁתְ Qidd. 10*b;* זַיְיפַתְ C. MS M. Q. 12*a.*

c) חֵיישִׁינָן *we take into consideration*, Yeb. 106*a;* כַּיְיפִינָן *we force*, Ḥull. 19*b;* קָצַיְינָן R. MS. B. M. 69*a.*

d) עֲיִילִיתּוּ Ber. 62*b;* גְּנִיתּוּן *ye cover*, M. MS. Ber. 16*a.*

[1] קָאִיט *shortens, Igg. Šerîrâ*, 7; גָּזְזִי *HG.* ed. pr. 24*a;* עָלִין *TR.* II. 25; קָצִין *Hal Pes.*, §84.

[2] Passing into פ״ר verbs.

[3] חֲרוּרָי *freedmen, HG.* ed. pr. 24*d.*

[4] Passing into ל״ר verbs.

EXAMPLES FOR PA"ĒL.

PERFECT.—§456. *3d sing. masc.:* *a*) עִיֵּל Yômâ 21*a*, Sabb. 116*b*; קִיֵּץ B. M. 108*a*; כִּיֵּל *he laid down a rule*, Qidd. 60*a*; עִלֵּיל M. MS. Sabb. 116*b*.

b) שִׁיֵּיעַ *he polished*, A. Z. 47*b*.

3d sing. fem.: עִיְּילָא Yômâ 9*a*, 18*a*, Yeb. 61*a*; חִנְּנָא ʿEn Y. Gitt. 68*b*.[1]

1st sing. com.: עִיְּילִית *I brought up*, Keth. 61*a*; עִיְּילִית *I went up*, Ber. 57*a*; צִיְּירִי *I tied up*, Sanh. 26*a*.

3d plur. masc.: *a*) עִיְּילוּ Pes. 113*b*, B. M. 83*b*; קִיְּצוּ B. M. 107*b*.

b) עִיּוּל *they went up*, C. MS. M. Q. 12*a*.

1st plur. com.: עִיְּילִינָן *we entered*, Meg. 28*b*.

IMPERFECT.—§457. *3d sing. masc.:* לְיִעַיֵּיל *enters*, Sabb. 74*a*, 104*a*; לְיִסַּכֵּךְ *covers*, Succ. 13*b*.

3d sing. fem.: תְּעַיֵּיל M. Q. 9*b*.

2d sing. masc.: תְּעַיֵּיל *bringest in*, Zeb. 116*a*, M. Q. 9*b*.

3d plur. masc.: לְיִעַיְּילוּ Gitt. 56*a*; נְיִעַיְּילוּ Pes. 64*b*; לְיִטַיְּילוּ *play*, Yeb. 114*a*.

2d plur. masc.: (תְּחַלְּלוּנֵיהּ Sabb. 119*b*; תְּחַלְּלוּנָהּ *ye profane it*, M. MS. *ibid.*)

IMPERATIVE.—§458. *Sing. masc.:* עִיֵּל B. Q. 59*b*, Pes. 94*b*; חַדֵּד *sharpen*, Sabb. 32*a*.

Plur. masc.: עִיְּילוּ Ber. 8*a*, Hôr. 12*b*; חַדְּדוּ O. MS. Sabb. 32*a*.

INFINITIVE.—§459. *a*) qattûlê: עִיּוּלֵי Macc. 21*b*, C. MS. Zeb. 36*a*,[2] חֲבוּבֵי *to appreciate, honor*, Ḥull. 133*a*, Sabb. 130*a*; לְחַדּוּדֵי *to try the acumen of somebody*, Ḥull. 43*b*, Ber. 33*b*; לְצַפּוּפֵי *to form*, B. M. 74*a*; צְתוּתֵי *to light, kindle*, Sabb. 119*a*; לְצַנּוּנֵי H. MS. B, B. 73*b*; מְכּוּכֵי *to lower*, Yômâ 84*b*; רְכּוּכֵי *to soften*, Sabb. 140*a*.

b) qittâlê: לִיתּוֹתֵי M. MS. Pes. 36*a*.

c) qattâlâ: עִיְּילָא Zeb. 36*a*.

d) qattil: לְחַבֵּב M. MS. Sabb. 130*a*.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§460. *Sing. masc.:* מְעַיֵּיל M. Q. 25*a*, מְטַיֵּיל *sports*, Succ. 53*a*; מְחַיֵּיט *digs*, H. MS. B. B. 58*a*; eds

[1] עִירְלַת *HG.* ed. pr. 67 d.

[2] עַלּוּרֵי *TR.* II. 5 (passing into ל"י).

חַיֵּים *ibid.*, ed. חַשֵּׁט *ibid.*; מְחַבֵּב Ḥull. 133*a* (§8); מְמַכֵּךְ *lowers*, Yômâ 84*b*; מְמַכֵּל *covers*, ʿArûkh Succ. 53*a*, M. MS. *ibid.* 31*a*; מְיַשְׁכֵּל Sanh. 100*a*; מְיַיכֵּל R. H. 34*a*, M. MS., ed. יַכֵּיל; רַדֵּיד *stretches out*, B. M. 83*b*.

Plur. masc.: מְטַיְּילִי B. B. 91*b*, ʿArûkh *ibid.* מְטַלְּלִין; מְטַיְּלִין *ibid.* 19*b*; מְעַיְּלִי Macc. 11*b*, B. M. 74*a*; מְחַשְׁטִי Yeb. 63*b*; מְרַגְּנִין *murmur*, *ibid.* 34*b*; מְחַלְּלִי *desecrate*, M. MS. Ber. 6*b*; חַלְּלִי *wash*, Ḥull. 113*a*; מְטַלֵּין V. L. ad B. B. 91*b*; מְמַלֵּי Qidd. 50*a*, passing into ל"י.

Plur. fem.: מְחַלְּיָן Ber. 6*b*; מְטַלְּיָן V. L. ad B. B. 91*b*.

Passive Participle.—§461. *Sing. masc.*: מְכַתַּת *crushed*, Yeb. 103*b*; שַׁיַּיט *polished*, M. Q. 12*a*.

Sing. fem.: מְטַלְּלָא *covered*, B. Q. 50*b*; מְלַפְּפָה *moulded*, B. M. 74*a*.

Plur. masc.: מְטַלְּלִי *covered*, B. Q. 50*b*; מְחַדְּדִי *acute*, Yeb. 14*a*, Nidd. 14*b*; מְחַדְּדִין B. M. 84*a*.

Plur. fem.: מְלַפְּפָן *moulded*, M. MS. B. M. 74*a*; מְחַדְּדָן Rašî Keth. 62*b*, Sabb. 82*a*.

Participles with Enclitic Subject-Pronoun.—§462.—*Active Participle*: *a*) מְחַבִּיבְנָא Ḥull. 133*a*.

b) מְעַיְּילַתְּ Ḥull. 79*a*; מְלַטַּיְּית M. MS. Sabb. 151*b*.

c) עַיְּילִיתּוּ Keth. 112*a*; ʿEn Y. *ibid.* מְעַיְּילִיתּוּ.

d) מְחַבְּבִינָן Pes. 105*b*, M. MS. Ber. 52*a*; מְעַיְּילִינָן Zeb. 55*a*; מְסַכְּכִינָן Succ. 13*a*.

Passive Participle: *a*) מְחַדְּדְנָא *I am ready-witted*, ʿEr. 13*b*.

examples for aph'ēl.

Perfect.—§463. *3d sing. masc.*: אַחֵים *warmed*, Sabb. 51*a*, 153*a*; אַטִּים *filled up*, M. MS. B. Q. 50*a*; אַחְמֵם M. MS. Sabb 110*b*; אַרַע Pes. 3*b*; אַחֵיל B. B. 23*a*.

3d sing. fem.: אַעַיְּילָא Sabb. 116*b* (§80); אַחֲלָה B. B 144*a*.

2d sing. masc.: אַקֵּילְתְּ ʿEr. 10*a*; אַחַלְתְּ B. M. 40*b*.

3d plur. masc.: *a*) אַעֵילוּ ʿEr. 44*b*; אַקֵּילוּ Ber. 62*a*; אַחֵילוּ Sabb. 156*a*; (אַרְעוּהַ B. Q. 52*a*).

b) אַחוּל *they renounced their right*, B. B. 23*a*.

Imperfect.—§464. *3d sing. masc.:* לֵיקֵל Yeb. 88*a;* נֵיחַל *redeems*, B. M. 53*a;* לִיצְדַּד Sabb. 141*a;* (לֵיקֹרֵיהּ *cools himself*, Alfâsî Yômâ 78*b*).

2d sing. masc.: תֵּעֵיל Sanh. 100*b*.

1st plur. com.: נֵיקוֹר 2 M. MS. Pes. 118*b;* נֵיקֵל Qidd. 12*b*.

Imperative.—§465. *Sing. masc.:* אַחֵיל ʿAr. 29*a;* אַחֵים Sabb. 153*a;* אַקֵּיל ʿEr. 10*a*.

Infinitive.—§466. *a*) ʾaqtûlê: אַגּוֹנֵי *to protect*, Sôtā 21*a;* אַעוֹלֵי Ned. 56*a;* אַחוֹמֵי M. MS. Pes. 76*b;* אַקוֹרֵי Sabb. 51*a;* אַקוֹלֵי *ibid.* 86*a*.—אַחְמוֹמֵי Nidd. 43*a;* אַקְרוֹרֵי Pes. 118*b;* אַצְדּוֹדֵי Yômâ 37*a*, B. B. 99*a*.—לְאוֹקוֹלֵי Sabb. 129*b;* אוֹקוֹרֵי O. MS. Pes. 118*b;* אוֹרוֹעֵי B. B. 34*a*, A. Z. 27*b;* אֵיקוֹרֵי M. MS. Pes. 76*a*.

b) miqtâlâ: מִיחְמָא Taan. 24*b*.

Active Participle.—§467. *Sing. masc.: a*) מַחֵים Pes 49*a;* מַאחֵים Hag. Hatt. *ibid.;* מַחֵיל M. Q. 18*a;* מַקֵּיר Sabb. 51*a;* מַמֵּיךְ Ber. 54*b;* מַחְלֵיל *washes*, Ḥull. 95*b;* מַצְדַּד B. B. 99*a;* מֵיקֵל Sabb. 129*b*.

b) מֵיקַר Pes. 76*a;* M. MS. מַיְיקַר *ibid.;* מֵיחַם *ibid.;* מֵיקַל Ned. 19*b*.

c) מַרַע Qidd. 64*a*.

Sing. fem.: מַגְּנָא *protests*, Keth. 77*b*, Sôtā 21*a;* מַיְחְמְיָא H. MS. Pes. 76*a*, passing into ל״י verbs; מַיְחְמִית Taan. 21*b*, with perfect ending (§232); מַיְחָלָה B. B. 132*b*.

Plur. masc.: מַיְחָלִין B. B. 60*a;* מַיְזְמִי Ker. 24*a;* מַגְּנוּ A. Z. 15*b*, 16*a;* מַחַמּוּ Sabb. 153*a;* מַצְדְּדִי B. B. 99*a;* מַיְחְמִינִי, מַיְקְרִי H. MS. *ibid.* 19*a;* with retention of *i*: מֵיקִילִי Ber. 36*a;* מַקְרִירִי, מַחְמִימִי B. B. 19*a;* מוֹחִילִי *profane*, Bekh. 45*b*.

Participle with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.—§468.—*a*) מַרַעְנָא *I weaken*, Keth. 85*a;* (א)מוֹרַעְנָא B. Q. 112*b*.

b) מַרַעְתָּ B. B. 7*a*, M. MS. מַרְעִית *ibid.*

c) מְקִילִינָן Ḥull. 4*b*.

examples for ithpeʿēl.

Perfect.—§469. *3d sing. masc.: a*) אִיזְדְּקִיק *he attended to*, Ned. 77*a;* אִיתְחִיל *was profaned*, Ker. 7*a*.

b) אִיתְּרַע *was ruined*, Ḥag. 5*a*; אִיחֲמַם *grew warm*, Sabb. 110*b*; אִירְתַּת *he trembled*, Ḥull. 96*a*; אִיבְּרַר Bekh. 59*a*; אִיתְּזַם Sanh. 27*b*.

c) אִיתְּזוֹם *was proved to be a perjurer*, Macc. 3*a*; אִישְׁתּוֹם *was covered entirely*, Meg. 27*b*; אִיגְּזוֹם *was razed*, Ḥull. 44*a*, Bekh. 44*a*; אִיקְּטוֹט *she quarreled*, Nidd. 67*b*.

3d sing. fem.: אִיתְּרְעָא *was damaged*, Ḥull. 10*ab*, with ל״ה ending; אִיבְּרָאי *she became wild*, Nidd. 50*b*.[1]

3d plur. masc.: *a*) אִיזְּדְּקִיקוּ *they attended to*, Ned. 77*ab*, Sabb. 157*a*; אִיתְּחֲמִימוּ Ḥag. Hatt. Pes. 118*b*; אִיתְּקְצִיצוּ eds M. Q. 25*b*.

b) אִיתְּקְצוּצוּ *were cut down*, M. Q. 25*b*; אִישְׁתְּעוּ *were beaten flat*, *ibid.*; אִיתְּזַמּוּ *were proven perjurers*, B. Q. 73*a*; אִשְׁתְּרוּ *became hard*, ʿArûkh Nidd. 48*b*.[2]

c) אִיתְּזוּם B. Q. 73*a*.

2d plur. masc.: אִישְׁתַּלֵּיתוּ *ye played*, Qidd. 21*b*.

1st plur. com.: אִיזְּדְּקִקְנָן Ar. 22*b*.

Imperfect.—§470. *a*) נִתְּחִיל *is profaned*, Qidd. 53*b*; לִיתְּחִיל ʿEr. 104*a*.

b) לִתְּרַע *becomes unlucky*, Ned. 40*a*; לִידַּל *raised himself up*, 2 M. MS. M. Q. 28*b*.

2d sing. masc.: *a*) תִּירְתַּת Ḥull. 96*a*.

b) תִּישְׁתּוֹם *thou art completely covered*, Meg. 27*b*.

Infinitive.—§471. אִיגְּזֵמֵי *to be razed*, Ḥull. 44*a*, Bekh. 44*a*; אִיזְּדְּקוּקֵי ʿAr. 22*b*; אִירְתּוֹתֵי A. Z. 39*b*.

Participle.—§472. *Sing. masc.*: *a*) מִיתְּחִיל *is profaned*, M. Q. 17*a*; מִיזְּדְּקִיק B. B. 9*a*, Ned. 22*b*; מִתְּצִיל *is clear*, Gitt. 70*b*.

b) מִתְּרַע Ḥull. 12*b*; מִירְתַּת Sabb. 58*a*, Yeb. 116*a*; מִיקַּץ M. MS. B. B. 60*b*; מְזַדְּקַק Sabb. 46*b*.

Sing. fem.: מִירַתְּתָא A. Z. 22*b*; מִיתְּחָלָא Sanh. 51*a*,[3] מְזַדְּקָא Bekh. 7*b*.

[1] אִיתְּבְּרָא *was found out*, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §233; אִירְבְּרַת *ibid.*, §74.

[2] אִירְחַמְמוּ *HG.* ed. pr. 128*d*; אִיזְּדַּקְקוּ *ibid.* 115*b*.

[3] This word may also be, as in the Targumim, Ittaph'al; but forms like מִתְּחִיל, נִתְּחִיל, show that we have here Ithpe'ēl by analogy with ע״ר stems.

Plur. masc.: מִזְדַּקְקִין ʿAr. 22*b;* מִירַתְּתִי A. Z. 22*b;* מִתְזַמֵּי B. Q. 73*a;* מִיזְדַּקְקוּ Qidd. 62*b;* מִימַּצְּצִי Bekh. 7*a.*

Plur. fem.: מִיקַּצְּצָן Ned. 61*b.*

Participle with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.—§473.—*a*) מִיזְדַּקְקִינָא, מִיזְדַּקְקִינָא, ʿAr. 22*a.* *b*) מִיזְדַּקְקִינָן ʿAr. 22*ab.*

examples for ithpa"al.

§474. Perfect.—אִיכַּלַּל *he was married*, Meg. 27*b;* אִיסְתַּטַּט *became mad, wild*, ʿEn Y. Ned. 41*a.*—אִיצְטַנְּיַאת *she took cold*, Sabb. 129*a;* אִיחַנְּנָא *she entreated*, Gitt. 68*b.*

Imperfect.—לִיחַלַּל Succā 26*b.*

Infinitive.—לְאִיחַדּוֹרֵי Meg. 6*b;* [ק] לְצַטַּנֵּי O. MS. B. B. 73*b.*

Participle.—מִתְעַיֵּיל Yômā 51*b;* מִיפַּרַר Pes. 74*b;* מִיפַּתַּת *is crushed*, Succā 31*b;* מִיתְחַפַּךְ B. Q. 44*a.*—מִירַכְּכָא *ibid.* 81*a.*—מִתְחַדְּדִי Keth. 62*b.*—מִירַדְּדָן Raši Ned. 61*b.*

verbs ע"ר.

§475. The verbs of this class are properly verbs with an originally long stem-vowel. Like the ע"ע verbs they go ultimately back to bi-consonantal roots. The difference between the two classes being, that the bi-consonantal root was in the one instance pronounced with lengthened vowel, in the other with lengthened, *vulgo* doubled, consonant. *Cf.* Assyrian inûḫu and inuḫḫu, iṭîbu and iṭibbu, etc. Both classes run into one another, as in the cognate dialects, so that it is often difficult to tell to which class a given verb belongs.

§476. Verbs mediae *û* and verbs mediae *î* are in most forms alike and it would therefore be impossible to tell with certainty the one from the other. The verbs mediae *î* are probably דיל *to lay snares, use strategy*,[1] דין *to judge*, דוש *to tread*, כיל *to measure*, מית *to die*, סים *to put on shoes*, סיר *to visit*, if = Arab. سَيَّرَ,[2] ציד *to hunt*, ציץ *to bubble*, צית *to listen*, ריק *to be empty*, and the denominatives בית *to stay over night*, עין *to examine*, and צין *to ornament*. The last two only in Pa"ēl.

[1] דיל = Assyr. dâlu.

[2] *MM.* Gitt. 38*b* has שיירי for סיירי.

§477. In the active participle of Qal an א is introduced between the two stem-consonants as bearer of the second vowel. This א has been retained in only a few cases of the singular masculine; in all other cases it has changed to י, in one case to ו (§506, *b*).[1] In the participle passive the *î*-vowel is frequently diphthongized (§§80, 503–5).

§478. In the Pa"ēl and in the Ithpa"al the root is extended to a tri-consonantal stem by the insertion of י, or of ו. The latter occurs only in כון, עות (in case the last word is not tri-consonantal in the Qal), the denominative זוק *to blow up*, זור *to roll*, and דור *to peddle, overtake*. The last two have also forms with י.

§479. In the Aphʿēl some verbs pass into the form of פ"ו verbs. Others change the original *a*-vowel to *i*, which is lengthened to *ē*. Strange is the persistence of this *ē*-vowel in a form like הֵיתִיבִי. Or is such formation by analogy with verbs פ"י?

§480. In the Ithpeʿēl the verbal stem remains bi-consonantal (but *cf.* אִסְתַּוִּיט and בִּדְוִיל) the ת is usually retained and has הָגְשׁ (§196), and is not transposed before an initial sibilant. Marti,[2] like some older grammarians, is inclined to consider the Ithpeʿēl of these verbs to be a remnant of an older Ittaphʿal. According to Koenig[3] the doubling of the ת is due to the nature of this consonant, *i. e.*, is purely phonetic.

§481. Verbs whose second stem-consonant is consonantal ו or י, as: דוא, הוא, חיא, טוא, סוא, צוא, רוא, שוא, אוש[4], חור, כוץ, נול, צוח, רוח, and שור, do not belong here.

Note.—For further discussion on these verbs compare A. Müller, *ZDMG.*, XXXIII., 698 *sq.*; Nöldeke, *ibid.*, XXXVII., 525 *sq.*; Haupt, *ZA.*, II., 259 *sq.*; Hommel, *Süd-arabische Chrest.*, p. 31; Kautsch-Gesenius, *Hebr. Gramm.*, 26th ed., §72; M. Lambert, *Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut*, pp. 354–362.

[1] According to Professor Haupt ("Der Halbvocal ų im Assyrischen," *ZA.*, II., 259 *sq.*) a form qâ'ēm stands for qâųēm with elision of intervocalic ų.

[2] *Kurzg. Gramm. d. bibl. aram. Sprache*, §63, *i*, Anm.

[3] *Lehrgeb. d. hebr. Sprache*, II. 1, p. 471, n. 1.

[4] Schorr, Kohut, and Bacher explain אוש to be Persian; but *cf.* Arab. غَاشَ, حَاشَ, هَاشَ, أُبِشَ or وشى and Ethiopic ųaš'a.

Qal and Pa''ēl.

	QAL.		PA''ĒL.
PERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	מֵת, מֵת	קָם; נָח	קִיֵּם
3d fem. . . .	מֵתָה, מֵתָה	קָמָה, ־ָת	קִיְּמָא
2d masc. . .	מֵתָּ	קַמְתָּ	קִיַּמְתָּ
1st com. . .	——	קַמְתִּי	קִיַּמְתִּי[ת]
Plur. 3d masc. . .	מֵתוּ, מֵתוּ	קָמוּ, קוּם	קִיְּמוּ, קַיְּמִים
2d masc. . .	——	——	——
1st com. . .	מֵתְנוּ, ־ִינוּ	קַמְנָא, ־ָנוּ, ־ִינוּ	קִיַּמְנוּ
IMPERFECT—			
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיקוֹם, לְ׳; לֵינָח	לִישַׁכַּב	לְיַקֵּיִם, לְ׳
3d fem. . . .	תִּיקוֹם, תְּ׳; תֵּינָח	——	תְּקַיֵּים
2d masc. . .	תִּיקוֹם, תְּ׳	——	תְּקַיֵּים
2d fem. . . .	תְּקוֹמִי	——	——
1st com. . .	אֵיקוֹם	——	אֲקַיֵּים
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לִיקוֹמוּ, (ק)	——	לְיַקְּיִמוּ, לְ׳
3d fem. . . .	——	——	——
2d masc. . .	תְּקוֹמוּ	——	——
1st com. . .	נִיקוֹם; נֵינָח	——	נְקַיֵּים
IMPERATIVE—			
Sing. 2d masc. . .	קוֹם	——	קַיֵּים
Plur. 2d masc. . .	קוּמוּ	בִּיתוּ	קַיְּמוּ
INFINITIVE	מֵיתָת, מֵינוּם	מֵיקָם	קַיּוֹמֵי
PARTICIPLE—			
Active, sing. masc.	מֵיֵת	קָאֵים, קָיֵם	מְקַיֵּים
fem. .	מֵיְתָא	קָיְמָא	מְקַיְּמָא
Passive, sg. masc.	מִית	קִים, קַיִּים	מְקַיָּם
fem. .	מִיתָא	קִימָא, קַיְּמָא	מְקוּיָּמָא

Aph'ēl, Ithpe'ēl, and Ithpa''al.

	APH'ĒL.			ITHPE'ĒL.	ITHPA''AL.
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	אוֹקִים	אֶחִיךְ	אָנַח	אִתְּקַם	אִיקַּיִם
3d fem. . . .	—	—	אַנְחָה	אִתְּקָמָא	אִיקַּיְמָא, ־ת
2d masc. . .	—	אֲחִיכְתְּ	—	—	אִיקַּיַמְתְּ
1st com. . .	—	—	אֲנַחְתִּי	—	—
Plur. 3d masc. . .	אוֹקִימוּ, (ק)	אֲחִיכוּ, אֲחִיכְךְ	אֲנַחוּ, אֲנוּחַ	אִתְּקָמוּ, אִתְּקוּם	אִיקַּיְמוּ, אִיקַּיּוּם
2d masc.	אוֹקֵימְתּוּן, ־יתוּ	—	—	—	—
1st com.	אוֹקִימְנָא, ־נָן	—	אֲנַחְנָא	—	אִיקַּיְמְנָא
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לוֹקִים	—	לִינַח, לָנַח	לִתְּקַם	לִיקַּיִם
3d fem. . . .	—	—	—	—	תִּיקַּיִם
2d masc. . .	—	—	—	—	תִּיקַּיִם
2d fem. . . .	—	—	—	—	—
1st com. . .	אוֹקִים	—	—	—	—
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לוֹקְמוּ	—	לִינְחוּ, לַ	לִתְּקָמוּ	לִיקַּיְמוּ
3d fem. . . .	—	—	—	לִתְּקָמָן	—
2d masc. . .	תּוֹקְמוּ	תְּחִיכוּ	—	—	—
1st com. . .	נוֹקִים	—	—	—	—
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc. . .	אוֹקִים	אֲחִיךְ	—	—	—
Plur. 2d masc. . .	—	—	—	—	אִיקַּיְמוּ
INFINITIVE.	אוֹקוֹמֵי	אֲחוֹכֵי	אֲנוֹחֵי	אִתְּקוֹמֵי	אִיקַּיּוֹמֵי
PARTICIPLE—					
Active, sing. masc.	מוֹקִים	מְחִיךְ	מָנַח, מֵינַח	—	—
fem. .	מוֹקְמָא	מְחִיכָא	מַנְחָא	—	—
Passive, sg. masc.	מוֹקַם	—	מָנַח	מִתְּקַם	מִיקַּיִם
fem. .	מוֹקְמָא	—	מַנְחָא	מִתְּקָמָא	מִיקַּיְמָא

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§482. *a*) קָם Ned. 22*a*, 51*a*; זָל B. M. 77*a*, B. Q. 6*a*; נָח Ber. 18*b*; פָּשׁ *remained*, *ibid.* 39*b*; צָר *besieged*, Gitt. 56*a*; בָּת Pes. 107*a*; דָּק *stuck in*, Ḥull. 39*b*; סָר *ibid.* 18*a*; גָּס Pes. 110*b*; חָר Sabb. 103*a*.

b) מִית Ned. 12*a*; מֵת M. Q. 27*b*; זִיל B. M. 44*b*, 45*a*; צִיץ *boiled up*, *bubbled*, Ḥull. 84*b*,[1] עִיט Ber. 56*a*; נִים Taan. 23*a*; גִּיס *MM.* Pes. 110*b*.[2]—*c*) זוֹל *fell in price*, B. M. 108*a*, Gitt. 42*a*.

3d sing. fem.—§483. *a*) זָלַת Taan. 23*a*, Ber. 63*a*; קָמַת Ned. 50*a*; טָבַת Gitt. 69*a*; קָמָה Ber. 51*b*; מָכָא *became soft*, Sanh. 95*a*; זָלָא M. MS. Ber. 63*a*.[3]

b) מִיתַת Sanh. 109*b*; מִיתָא M. Q. 27*b*; מִתָּה *ibid.* 9*b*, Ned. 50*b*; נִיחָא Sanh. 26*a*; (זִינְתֵּיהּ *she supported him*, *ibid.* 108*b*).

2d sing. masc.—§484. *a*) קַמְתְּ Ḥag. 15*a*.[4]—*b*) מִיתְתְּ Ber. 54*b*.

1st sing. com.—§485. קָמִית O. MS. Sabb. 156*b*.

3d plur. masc.—§486. *a*) דָּחוּ Pes. 30*a*; דָּרוּ B. B. 7*a*; קָמוּ M. Q. 25*a*, A. Z. 8*b*; פָּשׁוּ Sanh. 103*a*; דָּקוּ B. M. 65*a*; גָּרוּ Taan. 25*a*; אֲגָרוּ M. MS. *ibid.* (§88).

b) בִּיתוּ Taan. 21*a*, Pes. 42*a*; מִיתוּ Ber. 5*b*, M. Q. 27*b*; מֵתוּ ʿEn Y. 27*b*; (זִינּוּהוּ *they nourished him*, Bêçā 32*b*).[5]

c) קוּם, זוֹל, Qidd. 12*a*; הוֹן Keth. 48*b*; צוֹד *went a-fishing*, M. Q. 11*a*; צִיּוֹד Alf. *ibid.*

1st plur. com.—§487. קַמְנָא Yalq. MS. Sanh. 96*b*; תַּבְנָא B. B. 115*b* (Palest.); דַּרְנָא Alf. B. B. 29*a*; דַּשְׁנָן Keth. 62*a*; קָמִינָן Gitt. 57*b*; דָּרִינָן B. B. 29*a*.[6]

b) מִיתְנָן Ber. 31*b*; מִיתִינָן ed. Ven. *ibid.*

IMPERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§488. *a*) לְדוּץ Succā 37*b*; לֵימוּת Ned. 91*b*, Taan. 6*b*; לֵידוּק *infers*, Nidd. 45*b*; לֵיחוּל *rests*, Tem. 29*a*; נֵינוּם ʿEn Y. ʿEr. 65*b*.[7]

b) לֵיכֵל Ned. 51*a*; נֵיצִית M. MS. B. M. 32*a*; לֵינִים ʿEr. 104*a*.

c) לֵינָח Gitt. 68*a*; נֵינָח Yôm. 20*b*.

3d sing. fem.—§489. *a*) תֵּיחוּל Ned. 61*a*; תֵּימוּשׁ *prepares*, M. Q. 27*b*; תְּמוּת *ibid.* 9*b*; תְּרוּם Yôm. 53*b*; תְּקוּם Bekh. 44*b*; תֵּיקוּם ʿAr. 26*ab*.[8]—*b*) תֵּינָח Ned. 10*a*.

[1] *MM.* reads שְׁנַץ.
[2] סִיב *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §72.
[3] נַרַת *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §13 (voc.).
[4] דַּרְיִית *dwellest*, יחוסי תנאים 10*b*.
[5] מִיתָן *HG.* ed. pr. 69*b* (*f.*).
[6] קַמְנָא *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §555.
[7] רְמוּת Sabb. 75*a*.
[8] תְּקוּם *HG.* ed. pr. 27*b* (read: 21*b*).

2d sing. masc.—§490. תֵּיכוֹל Ḥull. 12*a*, 112*a*; תֵּיזוֹל Yeb 63*a*; תְּזוֹל *ibid.*; תְּקוֹר Pes. 113*a*.

2d sing. fem.—§491. תְּנוּפִי *thou shakest*, ʿEn Y. Yeb. 63*a*.

1st sing. com.—§492. אֵידוֹן Keth. 55*b*; אֵיקוֹם Ber. 28*a*; אֵיקוּ M. MS. Sabb. 148*b*; אֲדוּשׁ B. M. 105*b*; אֵימוּת M. MS. Ber. 64*a*.

3d plur. masc.—§493. לֵיקוּמוּ Ber. 45*b*; לֵימוּתוּ M. Q. 9*b*; and by analogy with verbs ע״ע: לִיחֲכוּ Sabb. 75*b*; לִימְתוּ Taan. 23*b*; לְקוּמוּ ed. Ven. Ber. 45*b*.[1]

2d plur. masc.—§494. תְּלוּשׁוּ Ber. 36*a*, Pes. 36*a*; תקימו (read תְּקוּמוּ) Ḥull. 86*b*.

1st plur. com.—§495. *a*) נֵינוּם ʿEr. 65*a*; נֵיקוֹם Gitt. 31*b*, Gitt. 4*b*; לֵיקוֹם Gitt. 54*a*.[2]—*b*) נֵינָם ʿEn Y. ʿEr. 65*b*.

Imperative.—*Sing. masc.*—§496. קוֹם Ned. 51*a*; דּוֹן Ber. 58*a*; מוּךְ *lay down*, *ibid.* 59*a*, Taan. 6*b*; מוּשׁ *prepare*, B. Q. 92*b*; קוּ C. MS. M. Q. 25*b* and elsewhere.[3]

Plur. masc.—§497. *a*) קוּמוּ B. M. 62*a*; דּוּנוּ Pes. 4*a*; לוּשׁוּ *ibid.* 36*a*; שׁוּמוּ B. Q. 96*b*; עוּשׁוּ *urge on*, B. B. 9*a*.

b) בִּיתוּ *stay over night*, Taan. 24*b*.

Infinitive.—§498. *a*) miqtăl: מֵיחַל Ned. 57*a*; מֵיעַר *ibid.* 88*a*; מֵידַב Pes. 74*b*; מֵינָם 2 M. MS. *ibid.* 120*b*; מֵישָׁךְ Sabb. 31*b*; מֵידָן Yômâ 87*b*; לְמֵיסַם *ibid.* 78*a*; לְמֵיבַת Sanh. 109*a*; מֵיקַם Qidd. 33*a*; מֵימַת Gitt. 68*b*; לְמֵבַת M. MS. Ber. 60*b*.[4]

b) miqtŭl: מֵינוּם ʿEr. 65*a*; מֵיזוֹן ʿEn Y. Bêçā 32*b* (quoted in ʿEr. 86*a*).

c) miqtŭlê: מֵינוֹמֵי Pes. 120*b*; מְנוֹמֵי ʿEn Y. *ibid.*; מְחוֹכֵי *MM.* Gitt. 57*b*.[5]

Active Participle.—*Sing. masc.*—§499. דָּאֵין Ned. 5*a*; דָּאֵיר Yeb. 52*a*; צָאֵית Nidd. 36*b*; דָּיֵיל *lays snares*, V. L. Sanh. 96*b*; חָיֵיל Ned. 79*b*; מָיֵית *ibid.* 3*b*; נָיֵים *ibid.* 15*a*; צָיֵית M. Q. 14*b*.—*e.* צָיְיתָא Sanh. 8*a*; לָאטָה *cursing*, *ibid.* 49*a*.

b) נָיַח Sabb. 99*b*; סָאַר B. B. 41*b*;[6] צָיַר Yeb. 63*a*; תָּיַר *returns*, V. L. Sanh. 96*b*.[7]

Sing. fem.—§500. פָּיְיגָא Meg. 25*b*; חָיְילָא Ned. 4*a*, 17*a*; קָיְימָא *ibid.* 28*b*; נָיְימָא Sanh. 7*a*; זָיְחָא *ibid.* 96*b*; זָיְנָא *ibid.* 108*b*.

[1] רְמוּתוּ M. Q. 9*b*. [2] נָחוּס *SM.* No. xiii. (voc.), Palest. [3] תַּב (?) *HG.* 183.
[4] מִימָת ʿAnān quoted by Harkavy, *MWJ.* 1893, p. 225 (voc.).
[5] מְרִיצִינְהוּ *to press them*, M. Q. 10*b*; מוֹצִינְהוּ Alfâsi *ibid.* (√ארץ).
[6] דַּיַּר *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §555 (voc.). [7] תיר = Assyrian târu.

Plur. masc.—§501. חָיְלִין Ned. 75*b*, 76*a*; חָלִין *ibid.* 75*a*; מָיְיתִין B. B. 91*b*; זָיְינִי Ber. 12*a*; מָיְיתִי Macc. 11*a*; דָּיְישִׁי M. Q. 12*b*; עָיְיצִי Yeb. 7*a*; בָּיְיתִי ʿEr. 73*a*; שָׁיְיכִי *boast*, Gitt. 28*b*; קָיְימִי Ned. 76*a*; קָיְימוּ Bekh. 13*b*, B. B. 154*b*.

Plur. fem.—§502. קָיְימָן B. B. 73*a*, Gitt. 45*a*; כָּיְילָן *measure*, A. Z. 71*a*; דָּיְינָן Pes. 81*a*; דָּיְישָׁן Zeb. 116*b*; נָיְיחָן Sabb. 21*a*; נָיְיפָן Yeb. 63*a*.

Passive Participle.—*Sing. masc.*—§503. *a*) תִּיר *awake*, ʿEr. 104*a*, Meg. 18*b*; נִים *dozing*, Meg. 18*b*; עִיתָּם ʿArūkh Ḫull. 51*b*; קִים A. Z. 76*b*; דַּיִים Yeb. 52*a* (§80).[1]—*e.* לִיטָא Sabb. 67*a*.

b) עִיתָּם *folded*, Ḫull. 51*b*.—*e.* לוּטָא *cursed*, Sanh. 49*a*.

Sing. fem.—§504. נִיחָא Ned. 15*b*; זִילָא B. B. 110*a*; נַיחָא C. MS. Meg. 30*a* (voc.); דַּיְימָא Qidd. 12*b*; שַׁיְיפָא A. Z. 52*b*; קָיְימָא B. M. 18*b* and *passim*.

Plur. masc.—§505. שַׁיְיפִי B. B. 32*b* (§80).

Participles with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.—*Active Participle.*—§506. *a*) צָיְידְנָא Keth. 103*b*; צַיְידְנָא B. M. 85*b*; קָאֵימְנָא Ber. 11*b*; דַּיְירְנָא ʿEr. 26*b*; שַׁיְימְנָא B. M. 67*b*; סָיְירְנָא Ḫull. 105*a*.

b) דַּיְיכַתְּ Bêçā 14*a*; צָאִיתְּ Alf. Keth. 109*b*; קָיְימַתְּ B. M. 66*a*; דַּיְינַתְּ Men. 78*a*; דַּיְיקַתְּ B. Q. 99*b*; מָיְיכַתְּ *art low*, Sabb. 67*a*.—צַיְיתְּ M. Q. 27*b*; נַיְיפְתְּ Yeb. 63*a*; דַּוְשְׁתְּ *thou art causing annoyance*, M. MS. B. B. 137*b*.

c) קָיְימִינָא Zeb. 23*a*, B. Q. 68*a*; דַּיְינְקָן ʿEr. 48*a*; דַּיְינָן Sanh. 16*a*; שַׁיְימִינָן *we estimate*, B. M. 39*a*; לַיְיטִינָן *ibid.* 48*b*; קָיְימִינָן A. Z. 75*a*.[2]

d) צַיְיתִיתּוּ Sanh. 29*a*; קָיְימִיתּוּ B. B. 172*a*; כָּיְילִיתּוּ *ye measure*, A. Z. 71*a*; דַּיְיקִיתּוּ Yōm. 83*b*.[3]

EXAMPLES FOR PA"ĒL.

Perfect.—§507. *3d sing. masc.*: *a*) סַיֵּים *he finished*, Ber. 12*a*; עַיֵּין *observed*, *ibid.* 7*a*; סַיֵּים Gitt. 56*b*; נַיֵּים Taan. 25*a*; חַיֵּיךְ *laughed*, M. Q. 17*a*.

b) דַּיֵּיר Qidd. 81*a*; סַיֵּיע B. B. 41*a*; זַיֵּיר *he retained*, B. M. 16*b*.

c) כַּיֵּין Ber. 30*a*; כַּיְּון *ibid.* 30*b*; כִּיְּון *ibid.* 33*b*; עַיֵּית *ibid.* 14*b*.

[1] צָיְיר *is pictured*, *HG.* ed. pr. 120*b*.

[2] קָאִימְנוּ *MV.* 5.

[3] קָיְימִיתּוּ *HG.* ed. pr. 110*c*; צָיְיצִיתּוּ *ibid.* 114*b*.

2d sing. masc.: קַיֵּימְתְּ Ber. 11*b*; זַיֵּיפְתְּ *thou didst forge*, B. B. 167*a*.[1]

1st sing. com.: קַיֵּימִית Sabb. 118*b*; קַיֵּימִי Yeb. 64*b*; נַיֵּימִי Taan. 23*a*.

3d plur. masc.: עַיֵּינוּ Keth. 62*b*, Gitt. 89*a*.

1st plur. com.: עַיֵּינֵן Sabb. 30*b*.[2]

Imperfect.—§508. *3d sing. masc.:* לְטַיֵּיט Alf. B. B. 163*a*; לְעַיֵּין Ber. 5*b*; לִיצַיֵּית B. M. 32*a*; לִיקַיֵּים Sanh. 93*b*; לִיסַיֵּים *puts on*, Yômâ 78*b*.

2d sing. masc.: תְּבַיֵּישׁ M. Q. 9*b*; תְּקַיֵּים ʿEr. 54*a*.[3]

1st sing. com.: אֲקַיֵּים Taan. 21*a*.

3d plur. masc.: לְדַיְּינוּ B. M. 30*b*, B. B. 43*a*; לִידַיְּינוּ Hag. Hattalmûd, *ibid.*; יְדַיְּינוּ B. M. 42*b*; נִידַיְּינִי M. MS. B. B. 43*a*; נִיפַיְּיסוּ *cast lots*, Yômâ 22*a*; נְשַׁיְּימִי *estimate*, B. Q. 96*b*.

1st plur. com.: נְעַיֵּין Sabb. 30*b*; נְקַיֵּים Taan. 21*a*; לְעַיְּינֵן *MM.* Taan. 12*b* (§233).

Imperative.—§509. *Sing. masc.:* עַיֵּין Ber. 25*a*; קַיֵּים B. B. 159*b*.—*Plur. masc.:* קַיְּימוּ Keth. 19*a*; דַּיְּינוּ Sanh. 31*b*; זַיְּיקוּ Ḫull. 109*b*; סַיְּירוּ *examine*, ʿAr. 21*b*.

Infinitive.—§510. *a*) qattûlê: עַיּוֹנֵי Sabb. 9*b*, Ned. 77*b*; דַּיּוֹבֵי M. Q. 25*a*; לְבַוּוֹנֵי Ber. 17*a*; לְסַעוֹנֵי (=לְסַיּוֹעֵי) V. L. Ḫull. 10*a*.

b) maqattâlâ: לְמְסַיְּימָא *to put on*, Gitt. 56*b*; (לְמְדַיְּינֵיהּ R. H. 16*a*; לְמִידַיְּינְדְּהוּ M. MS. *ibid.*; לְמִידַיְּינְדְּהוּ Yeb. 65*a*).

Active Participle.—§511. *Sing. masc.: a*) מְצַיֵּין *adorns*, Ber. 30*b*; מְטַיֵּיט *blots*, B. B. 163*a*; מְדַיֵּיק Ned. 50*b*; מְקַיֵּים M. Q. 2*b*; מְיַקְּיִם Ned. 4*a*; מְדַיֵּיב *ibid.* 7*b*.—מְדַיֵּיר R. H. 9*b*; מְסַיֵּיעַ Ned. 18*a*.

b) מְזַוֵּר *rolls about*, Bekh. 44*a*; מְדַוְּאר ʿArûkh R. H. 9*b*; מְיַדְּוְּאר eds. B. B. 73*a*.[4]

Sing. fem.: מְדַיְּיבָא B. Q. 108*a*; מְסַיְּיעָא Qidd. 73*a*.

Plur. masc.: מְסַיְּימֵי B. Q. 59*a*; מְנַיְּידֵי Ḫag. 3*a*; מְדַיְּיתֵי Pes. 30*b*; מְיַדְּיתֵי MSS. *ibid.*; מְדַיְּירֵי R. MS. B. Q. 113*b*; מְעַיְּינוּ M. Q. 14*b*, B. M. 17*a*; מְדַיְּיבוּ B. B. 5*b*.—מְכַוְּונֵי Yômâ 28*b*.

Passive Participle.—§512. *Sing. masc.:* מְדַיָּיב B. Q. 72*a*; מְיַיס B. B. 23*a*.

[1] סַיְּימְתְּ *HG.* ed. pr. 88*b*; כַּוְּינְתְּ *ibid.* 110*a*.

[2] עַיְּינָא *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §555 (legal style).

[3] תְּעַיֵּין *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §1.

[4] מְעָאיִק *Igg. Šerira*, ed. Goldberg, p. 36.

Sing. fem.: מְקַוְּיָא Qidd. 65*b*; מְטַוְּיָא *trimmed*, Men. 88*b*.

Plur. masc.: מְצַוְּינִי Ned. 20*b*; מְחַוְּיבִי Ber. 54*a*; מְסַוְּיעִין B. B. 21*a*.

Plur. fem.: מְזַוְּורָן Bekh. 44*a*; מְכַוְּונָן Pes. 111*a*.

PARTICIPLES WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—*Active Participle.*—§513. *a*) מְפַיְּיסְנָא Sanh. 96*b*, B. Q. 84*a*; פַּיְּיסְנָא Gitt. 30*a*.

b) מְחַוְּיבַתְּ B. M. 43*a*; מְיַעְּינַתְּ A. Z. 9*a*; פַּיְּיסַתְּ B. B. 6*a*.

c) מְעַיְּינָן Meg. 30*b*; מְעַיְּינָן A. Z. 4*a*; מְעַיְּינָא Sanh. 18*b*, מְפַיְּיסִינָן B. M. 77*a*; מְקַיְּימִינָן Gitt. 82*a*.

Passive Participle.—§514. *a*) מְחַוְּיבָנָא Qidd. 8*b*.

b) מְחַוְּיבַתְּ Ber. 16*a*.

EXAMPLES FOR APH'ĒL.

PERFECT.—§515. *3d sing. masc.: a*) אוֹקִים Ned. 72*a*; אוֹבֵיר B. M. 104*b*; אוֹדֵיק *ibid.* 67*a*.—אוֹקַם *taught, explained*, Hôr. 13*b*.

b) אֵיזֵיל 2 R. MS. B. M. 65*a*; (אֵיתֵיבֵיהּ *he objected to him*, B. Q. 106 *passim*).

c) אַחֵיל B. B. 23*a*; אַחֵיךְ Sôtā 13*a*, Ber. 18*b*; אַבֵּיר *he exchanged*, Tem. 17*a*, Ḥull. 41*b*; אַלֵּישׁ *kneaded*, Qidd. 46*b*.[1]—אַרַח *he smelled*, Ber. 43*a*; אַנַּח Sabb. 48*a*, 154*a*; אַגַּם B. Q. 105*a*.

3d sing. fem.: אַחֲלָה B. B. 144*a*; אַרְהָא Yôm. 82*b*.

2d sing. masc.: אַחֵיכְתְּ Gitt. 68*b*; [= אָחֵכְתְּ *SM.* No. xcv. (voc.)].

1st sing. com.: אֲנַחְ *I placed*, B. B. 167*a*.

3d plur. masc.: a) אוֹקִימוּ M. MS. R. H. 24*a*, A. Z. 50*a*, אוֹקְמוּ Sanh. 7*b*.

b) אַחִיכוּ Ber. 19*b*, Nidd. 50*b*; אַחִילוּ Ber. 12*b*; אַדִּיחוּ Nidd. 20*a*; אַנַּחוּ Yeb. 46*a*; אַטַּחוּ Zeb. 95*b*.

c) אַחוּל B. B. 23*a*.

2d plur. masc.: אוֹקִימְתּוּן Hôr. 10*b*; אוֹקְמִיתּוּן 'En Y. *ibid.*

1st plur. com.: אוֹקִימְנָן Šebu. 24*b*; אוֹקִימְנָן B. Q. 10*b*, אוֹקִימְנָא B. M. 85*b*; (אוֹתִיבְנָהּ Sabb. 121*b*; אוֹתְבִינָא M. MS. *ibid.*; אַקְרִמְנָהּ C. MS. Zeb. 66*b*); אַנַּחְנָא B. B. 74*b*.

IMPERFECT.—§516. *3d sing. masc.:* לוֹקִים Ned. 79*a*, Ber. 5*b*; לִינַח Men. 94*a*; לוֹתִיב R. H. 28*b*; לֵינָה 'Er. 64*a*, A. Z. 28*b*, נִנַּח A. Z. 28*b*.

[1] This form is perhaps Qal with prothetic א.

1st sing. com.: אוֹקִים B. M. 105*a*.[1]

3d plur. masc.: לוֹקְמוּ B. B. 32*b*, O. MS. Sabb. 134*a*; לוֹקְמֵי B. B. 32*b*; נִירְחוּ Ber. 53*a*; נִיתְחוּ Taan. 15*b*; לִימְרוּ Zeb. 6*a*, נִימְרוּ C. MS. *ibid.*; לַנְפוּ Men. 94*a*.

2d plur. masc.: תְּחִיכוּ Ber. 19*b*, Nidd. 50*b*; תַּצִּיתוּ A. Z. 38*b*, תּוֹתְבוּ Ḥull. 141*b*.

1st plur. com.: נוֹקִים Macc. 16*b*.

Imperative.—§517. *Sing. masc.:* אוֹקִי Šebu. 31*a*; אַצִּית *listen*, B. B. 74*a*.

Infinitive.—§518. *a*) 'aqtûlê: אוֹקוֹמֵי A. Z. 50*b*, M. MS.; לְאוֹנוֹמֵי Alfâsî ʿEr. 103*b*; לְאוֹקְמֵי Yeb. 24*b passim*; אוֹרוֹקֵי *to empty*, A. Z. 58*b*; אוֹזוֹלֵי, אוֹזְלֵי, B. M. 65*a*; אֲזוֹלֵי 2 R. MS. B. M. 77*b*; אֲפוֹסֵי *casting lots*, Succā 55*b*; אֲהוֹכֵי B. Q. 17*a*; אֲרוֹחֵי Sabb. 146*b*; אֲנוֹחֵי Keth. 47*b*; אֲזוֹדֵי Ḥull. 38*a*; אֲמוֹרֵי Tem. 7*a*, Ḥull. 41*b*, Zeb. 6*a*; אֵימוֹרֵי Tem. 10*b*.[2]

b) 'aqtûlâ: לְאוֹקְמָא B. M. 85*b*.

c) 'aqtûl: אֲהוֹךְ B. Q. 117*a*.

d) 'aqtâlâ: לְאַגָּחָא Sôtā 33*a* (Palestinean).

e) maqtûlê: מִימוֹרֵי V. L. to Zeb. 5*b*.

Active Participle.—§519. *Sing. masc.: a*) מְתִיב Ned. 18*a* and frequently; מְמִיר Tem. 7*a*; מְטִיב Taan. 24*b*; מְמִיךְ Ber. 54*b*; מְעִיד Sanh. 95*a*; מְרַח *ibid.* 39*b*; מְנַח Sabb. 6*a*; מְחַיְיךְ Ned. 50*b* (§80).

b) מוֹקִים Meg. 2*b*; מוֹזִיל B. M. 65*a*, 77*b*; מוֹבִיר B. B. 29*a*; מוֹתִיב M. Q. 13*a* and frequently; מוֹקֵם M. MS. Sabb. 71*b*; מוֹבֵר B. B. 29*a*; מוֹרַח Sanh. 39*b*, Ber. 43*b*.

c) מֵימַר Tem. 3*b*, 10*b*, Zeb. 6*a*; מֵירַח Sabb. 110*a*; מֵיתִיב Men. 103*b*, Tām. 35*b*.

Sing. fem.: מְנִיפָא M. Q. 17*b*; מַנְחָא Ber. 62*a*; מוֹקְמָה ʿAr. 25*b*.

Passive Participle.—§520.—*Sing. masc.:* מָאוּס, מָיאוּס *soiled*, eds. B. Q. 18*a*; מָנַח Yeb. 46*a*, B. B. 55*a*.

Sing. fem.: מַנְחָה Ber. 25*b*.[3]

[1] אוֹבִיר *HG.* ed. pr. 98*b*; אוֹזִין *TR.* II. 34.

[2] אֲחוֹכֵי *SM.* No. xxv. (voc.).

[3] מַאוְסָא *Še'ēl.* §96; מַוְסָא *HG.* Hilech. Niddā (√מוס).

Plur. masc.: מַנְחִי Succā 26*a;* מוֹקְמִי, מוֹקְמוּ, M. MS. B. B. 69*a.*

Plur. fem.: מוֹקְמָן *put up,* B. B. 69*a;*[1] מַיאִיסָן (√וּס) *soiled.* Sabb. 46*a.*

Participles with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.—*Active Participle.*—§521. *a)* מוֹקְמִינָא *I explain,* Zeb. 103*a;* מוֹרְחִינָא *I smell,* Keth. 49*a;* מְנַחְנָא *I lay,* Ber. 30*b;* מוֹבְרָנָא B. M. 104*b;* מְחַיְכְנָא M. Q. 17*a.*[2]

b) מוֹקְמַתְּ Hôr. 3*a,* B. B. 72*a;* מוֹתְבַתְּ Sabb. 21*a;* מְחַיְכַתְּ Sanh. 107*b,* Gitt. 46*a.*—מוֹקְמִית ʿEr. 50*b,* Men. 90*a.*

c) מוֹתְבִינָן Qidd. 50*b;* מַנְחִינָן Ḥull. 47*b,* Yeb. 76*a;* מוֹקְמִינָן Nidd. 5*a.*

d) מוֹקְמִיתּוּ Sanh. 44*b.*

EXAMPLES FOR ITHP$^{E'}$ĒL.

Perfect.—§522. *3d sing. masc.: a)* אִיתְּעַר *awoke,* Ned. 30*a,* Gitt. 68*a;* אִיתְּכַן Ḥull. 14*a;* אִיתְּדַר Qidd. 50*a;* אִיתְּמַח Gitt. 69*a.*[3]

b) אִיסְתְּוִיט *shyed, became mad,* Ned. 41*a.*

c) אִיתְּצוֹד ʿEr. 39*b,* 40*a.*

3d sing. fem.: אִיתְּנַחָא *was pleasing,* Qidd. 45*b.*

3d plur. masc.: a) אִתְּוַסַאי Sabb. 124*b;* אִתְּוַסִי ed. Soneisso *ibid.*

b) אִיתְּדוּן R. H. 16*a;* אִתְּווּם O. MS. Sabb. 124*b.*[4]

Imperfect.—§523. *3d sing. masc.:* לִיתְּעַר ʿEr. 104*a;* לִיתְּנַח *rests himself,* Sabb. 155*a;* לִיתְּוֵם Sabb. 75*b.*

3d sing. fem.: תִּיתְּבוּר *became fallow,* B. M. 107*a;* תִּיתְּזִיל B. M. 66*a.*

3d plur. masc.: לִיתְּצַדוּ Sabb. 43*b;* לִיתְּזַלוּ B. B. 42*a;* נִיתְּזַלוּ M. MS. B. B. 141*a.*

3d plur. fem.: לִיתְּזַלָן B. B. 141*a;* נִיתְּוֵסָן Yômâ 59*a;* לִיתְּצַדָה M. MS. Sabb. 43*b* (§216).

Infinitive.—§524. *a)* *itqatûlê: אִיתְּנוֹחֵי Qidd. 45*b;* לְאִתְּעוֹרֵי Ber. 4*a;* אִתְּנוֹפֵי Yeb. 63*a;* אִיתְּבוֹחֵי Gitt. 69*a;* אִיתְּצוֹדֵי ʿEr. 39*b,* Nidd. 45*a;* לְאִיתְּזוֹלֵי Sanh. 26*b.*

[1] מַנְחָן Alfâsî Bēçā 27*b.*

[2] מְחַיְכְנָא Alfâsî M. Q. 17*a.*

[3] √מוֹחַ=√מָחָה ; *cf.* Hebrew form נִימּוֹחַ Yômâ 75*b.*

[4] אַיְיזוּם (=אִיזְדוּם=אִיזְהוּם) *Še'ēl.* §88.

b) 'ithqatûlân, 'ithqatîlân: אִיתְּנוֹקָן 'En Y. Yeb. 63*a*; אִיתְּנִיקָן *ibid.*, commentary עין יוסף.

PARTICIPLE.—§525. *Sing. masc.*: *a*) מִיתְּנֵי Ḥull. 45*a*; מִיתְּוֹס F. MS. B. Q. 18*a*; מִיתְּדַר 'En Y. Qidd. 50*a*.

b) מְהֻוֵּיל *is irrigated*, B. B. 8*a*, 12*b*.

Sing. fem.: מִיתְּדְנָא R. H. 16*a*; מִיתְּזְנָא Keth. 52*b*, Qidd. 4*a*, מִיתְּזְלָא Gitt. 88*a*; מִיתְּזְנָה Ned. 83*b*.

Plur. masc.: מִיתְּדְשִׁי *are tread upon*, B. B. 101*a*, C. MS. M. Q. 25*a*; מִיתְּצְדִי Nidd. 45*a*; מִיתְּוֹסִי, מִיתְּוֹסִי, Pes. 65*b*.

Plur. fem.: מִיתְּזְנָן Keth. 52*b*; מִיתְּוְסָן Yômâ 53*a*; מִיתְּוְסָאן Sabb. 46*a*.

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA"AL.

PERFECT.—§526. *3d sing. masc.*: *a*) אִיתַּגַּיר Ber. 17*b*; אִיתַּחַיִב B. M. 30*b*; אִיתַּקַּים Ber. 36*a*, B. M. 108*a*; אַיתַּפַּיס B. Q. 113*b* (§80); אִיתַּכַּוַּן Ḥull. 95*a*.

b) אִיתַּכַּוִּין Bekh. 60*a*.

c) אִיתַּגַּוֵּר A. Z. 11*a*.

3d sing. fem.: אִיתְּחַיְבַת Ned. 50*b*; אִיתְּחַיְבָא Keth. 85*a*; אִיסְתַּיְעָא M. Q. 18*a*; אִיתַּגְּרָא Meg. 14*b*; אִיתַּפְּסָא Gitt. 30*a*.

2d sing. masc.: אִיתְּחַיְבְתְּ B. M. 30*b*; אִיתַּפַּסְתְּ Sôṭâ 35*b*.

1st sing. com.: אִיתַּכַּוְנִי Qidd. 81*b*.[1]

3d plur. masc.: *a*) אִיתַּחַיְבִין M. Q. 26*a*.

b) אִיתַּגַּיְרוּ A. Z. 11*b*.[2]

1st plur. com.: אִיתְּחַיְבְנָא *becomes incumbent on me*, M. Q. 26*a*.

IMPERFECT.—§527. נִיתְּחַיֵּב Ker. 2*b*; לִיתְּחַיֵּב R. H. 24*b*, Gitt. 55*b*; תִּיתְּחַיֵּב R. H. 15*a*; תִּיתַּפֵּיס Gitt. 18*a*; תִּתְּקַיֵּם 'Er. 54*a*; תִּסְתַּיֵּם Meg. 14*b*; תִּתְּבַּיֵּשׁ M. Q. 9*b*; לִיתְּחַיְבוּ R. H. 29*a*, Bekh. 56*b*.

IMPERATIVE.—§528. אִיתַּגַּיְרוּ *become ye converts to Judaism*, A. Z. 64*a*.

INFINITIVE.—§529. *a*) 'ithqattûlê: אִיסְתַּיּוּעֵי Sanh. 18*b*, לְאִיגַּיּוֹרֵי Gitt. 56*a*; לְאַחַיּוֹבֵי, לְחַיּוֹבֵי, Yeb. 34*a*; אִיכַּוּוֹנֵי M. MS. Ḥull. 13*a*; לְאִיחַיּוֹבֵי Šebu. 25*b*.

b) 'ithqattûlâ: אִיקַּיּוֹמָא Sanh. 47*a*.

[1] אִיקַּיְימִי *Igg. Šerirâ* 32; אִיתַּכַּוְנִית *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §436.

[2] אִיקַּיְימוּ *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §233.

PARTICIPLE.—§530. מְיכַוֵּין Ker. 20*a*; מְיעַפֵּם *doubled*, M. MS. Ḥull. 51*b* (passing into ע״ע); מְיכַוְּונָה Yeb. 53*b*; מְיבַיְּירָא Yeb. 23*a*; מְתַקְיְימִי B. B. 112*a*; מְתַקְיְימִין Ḥull. 92*a*; מְיבַיְּירִי Gitt. 85*a*; מְתְכַּוְּונָן ʿEn Y. Pes. 111*a*.—With enclitic pronouns: מְיכַוְּינָא Sabb. 131*b*; מְתְחַיְּיבְנָא Qidd. 13*a*; מְיחַיְּיבַתְּ Gitt. 56*a* Succā 25*b*; מְסְתַיְּיעַ Sanh. 67*b*.

VERBS ל״א, ל״ו, AND ל״י.

§531. *a*) Verbs ל״א retain their א in a few cases; verbs ל״ו only in two examples of one stem (§§539, 547); in all other cases both have become ל״י verbs.

b) Intransitive structure still appears in a few verbs (§§535–6). Feminine forms like those given under §536*a* may also, for all we know, be of intransitive structure.

c) The vowel before the afformatives of the perfect is less certain than the vocalization of other parts of the verb, as little help can be derived on this point from traditional pronunciation.

d) The insertion of an א to preserve an *i*-vowel is exceedingly rare in our printed editions, but occurs with more frequency in MSS. and in Gaonic literature.

e) Some verbs in the Qal and in the Ithpeʿēl have קבוץ after the first stem-consonant instead of ševā, a phenomenon we have met with also in the strong verb.[1] We might call it a Hebraism. To what extent and with what consistency such usage prevailed is difficult to tell.

ENDINGS OF THE PERFECT QAL.—§532. *3d sing. masc.*—In verbs of transitive structure the ending is *â* or *ăi̯*. The latter is an analogical formation after the derived stems, where *ăi̯* is a diphthongization of *î*. In verbs of intransitive structure the ending is *î*.

3d sing. fem.—The ending in verbs of transitive structure is *ăi̯ăt*, *ăi̯ā*, *ât*, and *âtā*; in verbs of intransitive structure, *îi̯ā*, *îʾā îtā*, *âi̯*. The last form is difficult to explain.

2d sing. com.—The ending is *êt*, *ăi̯t*, *ăt*, *ê*, in verbs of transitive structure; *ît* in those of intransitive structure. The ending *ăt* is shortened from *ai̯t*.

1st sing. com.—The ending is *êtî*, *êt*, *ê*, *ăi̯* (§80).

[1] *Cf.* §§84, 231, 266.

3d plur. masc.—The traditional pronunciation of this ending is *û*, not *ô*, as would be expected. This is supported by the vocalization of the C. MSS. (§573) and must be inferred from such forms as כַּסּוּי (§567), אַמְטוּי (§573), and אִירַבּוּי (§585), where we evidently have the diphthongization of *û* to *ŭi̯*, as in Neo-Syriac.[1] In a few cases we have *ûn*.

3d plur. fem.—The ending is *a̯iân*, *a̯i̯*. But the last form is doubtful. It may be the singular used for plural.

2d plur. masc.—The ending is *êtûn*, *êtû*.

1st plur. com.—The ending is *ênâ*, *ênân*, *ên*, *ênû*, *ăn*. The last is shortened from *a̯in*.

Endings of the other parts of the Qal.—§533. *Imperfect.*—The forms without afformatives end in *ê*. In a few cases we find *â*, just as in the infinitive. Second fem. sing. ends in *i̯în*. Second and third plur. masc. end in *ûn*, *û*, and *ê* (§532); third plur. fem. in *i̯ân*. The ending *ê* is probably masculine.

Imperative.—Sing. masc. ends in *î* or *â*. The last ending may be a shortening of *ăi̯*. But compare note 2 to §550. Sing. fem. ends in *âi̯*. Plur. masc. has *û*.

Infinitive.—The usual form of the infinitive, as in the other verbs, is miqtal. It occurs here in two forms: ending in *ê* and in *â*. The first comes from ל״י verbs, the latter from ל״ו verbs.[2]

Participles.—The ending of the sing. masc. is *ê*, at times diphthongized to *ăi*. The sing. fem. ends in *â*. The usual ending of the plur. masc. is *û*, less frequently *ê* and rarely *ên*. Whether forms ending in יִין־ are masculine and are to be vocalized יִין־, or are feminine, is impossible to tell. The same difficulty obtains with the ending ־ִן. It may be a shortening of *ăi̯n* and may be the feminine *ân*. Feminine plural ends in *i̯ân*.

Derived Stems.—§534. The perfect in the derived stems differs but slightly from that of Qal. Sing. masc. has usually *î*, rarely *â*.[3] Sing. fem. has never *ât*, but instead it has at times *â*. Imperfect, imperative, and participles do not differ in their endings from Qal. The infinitives are formed just as from strong verbs.

[1] *Cf.* also §449, n. 1, and §583, n. 1. These forms may, however, be explained by analogy of strong verbs (§ 231).

[2] *Cf.* Barth, *NB.*, §162*d*. In the discussion of the infinitive ending ־ֵי (§222) I have overlooked Barth's correct explanation of this ending by analogy of verbs ל״י. I am inclined to think that the infinitive ending אֵ־ is by analogy of verbs ל״ה.

[3] The vocalization אֵ־, as in Palest. Aramaic, is unknown to tradition.

Qal, Pa''ēl, Aph'ēl, Ithpe'ēl, and Ithpa''al.

	QAL.	PA''ĒL.	APH'ĒL.	ITHPE'ĒL.	ITH-PA''AL.
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	מָטָא	מַטִּי	אַמְטִי	אִתְמַטִּי	אִתַּמַּטִּי
3d fem. . .	מָטָאת	מַטָּאת	אַמְטָאת	אִתְמַטָּאת	אִתַּמַּטָּאת
	מָטְתָא	מַטְּיָא, (ט)	אַמְטְיָא	אִתְמַטְיָא	——
2d com. . . .	מָטֵית	מַטִּי[תְי]	אַמְטִית	אִתְמַטִּית	——
1st com. . .	מָטֵאת	מַטֵּאת	אַמְטֵאת	אִתְמַטֵּאת	אִתַּמַּטֵּאת
Plur. 3d masc. . .	מָטוּ	מַטּוּ	אַמְטוּ	אִתְמַטּוּ	אִתַּמַּטּוּ
3d fem. . . .	מָטַיָן, מָטַאת	מַטֵּאת	——	אִתְמַטְיָן	——
2d masc. . .	מָטֵיתוּ	——	אַמְטִיתוּ	——	——
1st com.	מָטֵינָא, ־נָן	——	אַמְטִינָא, ־נָן	אִתְמַטִּין	——
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִימְטֵי	לִימַּטֵּי	לִימְטֵי, לֵ֫	לִימְטֵי	לִימַּטֵּי
3d fem. . . .	תִּימְטֵי	תִּמַּטֵּי	תַּמְטֵי	תִּימְטֵי	תִּימַּטֵּי
2d masc. . .	תִּימְטֵי	תִּמַּטֵּי	תַּמְטֵי	תִּימְטֵי	תִּימַּטֵּי
2d fem. . . .	——	——	——	תִּימְטֵי	——
1st com. . .	אֵימְטֵי	אֵימַּטֵּי	אַמְטֵי	אֵימְטֵי	——
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לִימְטוּ	לִימַּטּוּ	לִימְטוּ	לִימְטוּ	לִימַּטּוּ
3d fem. . . .	——	——	——	לִימְטָאן	——
2d masc. . .	תִּימְטוּ	תִּימַּטּוּ[ן]	תַּמְטוּ	תִּימְטוּ	תִּימַּטּוּ
1st com. . .	נִימְטֵי	נִימַּטֵּי	——	נִימְטֵי	——
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc. . .	מְטִי	מַטִּי	אַמְטִי	אִתְמַטִּי	אִתַּמַּטִּי
2d fem. . . .	מְטָאי	——	אַמְטִי[ן]	אִתְמַטִּי	אִתַּמַּטִּי
Plur. 2d masc. . .	מְטוּ	מַטּוּ	אַמְטוּ	אִתְמַטּוּ	——
INFINITIVE	מְטֵי, ־טָא	מַטָּיֵי	אַמְטָיֵי	אִתְמַטָּיֵי	אִתַּמַּטָּיֵי
PARTICIPLE—					
Active, sing. masc.	מָטֵי	מְמַטֵּי	מַמְטֵי	——	——
fem. .	מָטְיָא	מְמַטְּיָא	מַמְטְיָא	——	——
Passive, sg. masc.	מְטֵי	מְמַטֵּי	——	מִימְטֵי	מִימַּטֵּי
fem. .	מָטְיָא	מְמַטְּיָא	——	מִימְטְיָא	מִימַּטְּיָא

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.*—§535. *a*) בְּעָא Ned. 36*b*; חֲזָא *ibid.* 23*a*; שְׁרָא *ibid.* 7*b*, 22*b*; מְטָא M. Q. 12*a*; טְשָׁא *he hid himself*, Taan. 29*a*; טְעָה Macc. 12*a*; תְּאָנָא B. B. 91*a*, Qidd. 71*a* (§531*e*);[1] אִיטְּשָׁא A. Z. 70*a* (§87).[2]

b) חֲזַאי M. MS. B. M. 85*b*; תְּלַאי *ibid.* 128*a*; מְטַאי *ibid.* B. Q. 112*b*.

c) שְׁתִי Ned. 77*a*; סְרִי *was spoiled*, *ibid.* 50*b*; סְגִי *it sufficed*, Keth. 95*b*, Taan. 32*a*; אִשְׁתִּי Sabb. 141*a*; אִימְצִי *was able*, Keth. 62*a*; אִיסַּר M. MS. Taan. 7*a*; אִיזַן K. MS. Sanh. 106*a*; אַיְזַן Sanh. 106*a* (§87).[3]

3d sing. fem.—§536. *a*) תְּנַיְיָה *she learned*, Pes. 62*b*; חֲזַת Taan. 25*a*; חֲזַת R. H. 26*b*;[4] מְטַיָא B. M. 86*a*; רְמַיָא Ned. 51*a*; תְּנַיְיָה *repeated*, Qidd. 81*b*.

b) שְׁרַת *she untied*, Yeb. 39*b*; חֲזַת Meg. 16*a*, B. B. 3*b*; רְמַת Ned. 50*b*; מְטָא B. Q. 115*a*;[5] מְטַת Alfâsî *ibid.*;[6] בְּנָתָא *she built*, ʿEn Y. Taan. 25*a*.[7]

c) חֲזַאי Taan. 25*a*; סְגָאי *she went*, B. B. 79*b*.

d) סְגִיָא Macc. 8*a*; סְנִיאָה *she hated*, Sabb. 26*a*; בְּרִיאַת *she became healthy*, Alfâsî Gitt. 45*b*; שְׁהִיתָא *she waited*, Yeb. 121*b*.

2d sing. com.—§537. *a*) קְרֵית Sanh. 113*b*; תְּנֵית R. H. 22*a*; קְלֵית *thou didst burn*, Sanh. 96*a*; קְנֵית B. B. 59*a*; קְנֵית ʿEn Y. *ibid.*; שְׁנֵי *thou didst learn*, B. Q. 17*b*.[8]

b) טְפַת *thou didst give more*, B. M. 83*a*.[9]

c) צְבִית *thou didst want*, Taan. 29*a*; שְׁהִית *thou didst tarry*, Ber. 24*b*.

1st sing. com.—§538. *a*) בְּנִית Taan. 25*a*; חֲזֵי ʿEr. 40*b*; בְּעֵי Sabb. 140*a*.

[1] The explanation of תנא given by Jastrow, *s. v.* בֵּר, is incorrect.

[2] תְּאָנָא *SM.* No. VII. (voc.); תְּאָנָא *Seder R. ʿAmrâm*, p. 8; בְּעָא *SM.* No. VII. (voc.); מְטָא *ibid.* No. XXV. (voc.); עְדָא *ibid.* No. XXVIII. (voc.).

[3] אִיזַן *she committed adultery*, seems to be shortened rather from an original masculine form than from a feminine form.

[4] *Cf.* מטרת Kethîb in Dan. 4:21.

[5] This form might be masculine for feminine; but *cf.* similar Mandaic forms before enclitica, Nöldeke's *MG.* §191. The apocope of ת presupposes a shortened form מְטַת.

[6] בָּכָת *she wept*, *SM.* No. CLIV. (voc.).

[7] *Cf.* Nöldeke, *MG.* §191.

[8] בָּכִית *SM.* No. XCV. (voc.); בָּעִיתָא *ibid.* No. CCXIII. (voc.).

[9] *Cf.* the qᵉrê to Dan. 4:19.

b) סְפִי *I gave to eat*, Ḥull. 95*a*; חֲזָאי Ber. 10*a*, 56*b*; גְּלָאי *I emigrated*, Pes. 49*b*; קְלָאי B. Q. 98*a*; שְׁנָאי *ibid.* 17*b*; תְּלָאי Ber. 57*a*; קְנָאי Keth. 82*b*.[1]

3d plur. masc.—§539. *a*) בְּעוּ Macc. 3*b*; חֲזוּ *ibid.* 5*a*; בְּלוּ *pine away*, Ber. 6*a*; טְשׁוּ *ibid.* 54*b*, Sabb. 33*b*, Taan. 24*a*; בְּכוּ *they wept*, Ber. 5*b*; שְׁרוּ Ned. 8*a*, 77*b*; רְמוּ *ibid.* 25*a*; בְּעִין Taan. 25*a*; תְּנוּ *they learned, taught, passim*.[2]

b) חֲטָאוּ *they sinned*, Sabb. 56*a*; מְלָאוּ *they filled*, B. B. 73*b*; תְּהָוּ Nidd. 66*a*.

3d plur. fem.—§540. שְׁדָיָן *they threw*, Meg. 27*b*; בְּלָאי Meg. 11*b* (in Ag. Esth. ed. Buber); לְבָאי *dried up*, M. Q. 11*a*.[3]

2d plur. masc.—§541. גְּלֵיתוּן Sabb. 116*b*; חֲזֵיתוּן Ned. 65*a*; בְּעֵיתוּן Meg. 23*a*; בְּעִיתוּ M. MS. *ibid.*; חֲזֵיתוּ B. Q. 117*a*; שְׁרֵיתוּ *ye have allowed*, Yeb. 37*a*; סְפֵיתוּ Ḥull. 95*b*.

1st plur. com.—§542. *a*) שְׁנֵינָן Pes. 55*b*; חֲזֵינָן M. MS. Ber. 56*a*; תְּנֵינָא M. Q. 25*a*, Šebu. 30*b*, Macc. 3*b*; שְׁנַן Pes. 17*b*; גְּלֵינָן *we were exiled*, Ber. 58*a*; גְּלֵינוּ M. MS. *ibid.*; שְׁנֵין M. Q. 13*b* (§80).

b) תְּנַן *we have learned*, Ned. 5*a*, *passim*; חֲזַן *we saw*, Ber. 56*a*; בְּעַן *we asked*, Ber. 21*a*.

Imperfect.—*3d sing. masc.*—§543. לִיתְנֵי Ned. 2*b*, 12*a*; לִיבְעֵי *ibid.* 40*a*; לִיקְנֵי *ibid.* 48*b*; לֵיחֲזֵי *ibid.* 5*b*; לִיקְרֵי Ber. 3*a*; לִיגְלֵי Macc. 8*a*; לִיבְנֵי M. Q. 7*a*; נִימְשֵׁי *washes*, Sabb. 140*b*; לֵיחְדֵי Ned. 40*a*; לַחְדֵי Ber. 55*b*.[4]

3d sing. fem.—§544. תִּשְׁדֵי *throws*, Sabb. 110*a*; תִּירְמֵי Ned. 51*a*; תִּסְגֵּי B. M. 86*b*.

2d sing.—§545. *Masc.*: תִּיחֲזֵי M. Q. 9*b*; תִּיבְעֵי Ber. 49*a*; תִּשְׁדֵי Pes. 113*a*; תִּמְחֵי B. B. 120*a*.

Fem.: תִּיצְבְּיִין *wantest*, Gitt. 85*b* (legal style).[5]

1st sing. com.—§546. אֵישְׁדֵי Ber. 45*b*; אֵיזְכֵי M. Q. 22*a*; אֵיגְנֵי Sabb. 110*b*. אֵיחֲזֵי Sanh. 26*a*; אֵישְׁתֵי Pes. 107*a*;

[1] חֲזִיתִי *HG.* ed. pr. 69*d*.

[2] תְּאנוּ Alfasi 'Er. 86*a*; מָאטוּ *ibid.* Pes. 103*b*.

[3] חֲזָאי *they saw fit*, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §182.

[4] רַחֲדִי Ber. 55*b*.

[5] The three yōdhs are to prevent the reading תִּירְצְבְיִין 3d plur. fem.

3d plur. masc.—§547. *a*) לִיבְלוּ Sabb. 30*b*; לִיבְעוּ Taan. 24*b*; נִימְטוּ *reach*, *ibid.* 25*a*.[1]

b) נִיתְהֲרוּ Nidd. 66*a*.

2d plur. masc.—§548. תְּגָנוּ Ber. 8*b*; תְּתְלוּ Ḥull. 50*a*; תֶּחֱזוּ Ber. 62*b*; תֵּיחֶזוּ Sanh. 100*a*; תִּישְׁתּוֹן Sabb. 140*b*; תִּשְׁהוֹן *ibid.* 104*b*; (תֵּיחֲזוּ Sanh. 100*a*); תִּיזְכוּ ʿEr. 54*b*.

1st plur. com.—§549. נֶחֱזֵי Ber. 22*b*; נִשְׁדֵּי Pes. 103*b*; נִבְעֵי Yômâ 69*b*; נִקְנֵי Gitt. 14*b*; נֵיעֵנֵי Ber. 31*a*; נִיזְכוּ ʿEr. 54*b* (*cf.* §233).

Imperative.—*Sing. masc.*—§550. *a*) שְׁדִי Macc. 11*a*, Ber. 22*a*; שְׁתִי *ibid.* 62*b*; תְּנִי Ned. 3*a*; חֲזִי *ibid.* 77*b*; בְּעִי *ibid.*; דְּרִי *carry*, Meg. 28*a*.[2]

b) תְּלֵה *throw on*, Ber. 43*b*; שְׁדָא *throw*, Ḥag. 15*b*, B. B. 155*b*; קְנָה *buy*, Ber. 63*a*.[3]

Sing. fem.—§551. חֲדָאִי *rejoice*, Pes. 69*b*; חֲזָאִי Ned. 6*b*; שְׁדָאִי Keth. 61*b*.

Plur. masc.—§552. שְׁרוּ M. Q. 17*a*; מְנוּ *ibid.* 22*a*; חֲזוּ Hôr. 12*a*; שְׁתוּ Sabb. 67*b*; אִשְׁתּוּ *ibid.* 41*a* (§87).

Infinitive.—§553. *a*) miqtal: α) מִישְׁדָא Macc. 11*a*; מִיטְעָא *ibid.* 12*a*; מֵיחֲזָא Yeb. 4*a*; מִיקְרָא Ber. 3*a*; מִיגְנָא B. M. 66*b*; מִיפְּשָׁא ʿEr. 75*b*; מִירְבָּא Ber. 40*b*; מִלְקָא Zeb. 9*a*; מִשְׁתָּה B. M. 86*a*. *β*) מִישְׁתֵי Ned. 4*b*; מִישְׁרֵי *ibid.* 8*ab*; מִישְׁדֵי M. Q. 4*a*; מֵיחֲזֵי Macc. 6*a*; מִיבְנֵי *ibid.* 10*b*; מִיקְרֵי *ibid.* 18*b*.

b) miqtalâ: מִשְׁתְיָא Pes. 113*b*; לְמִיתְנְיָא Ker. 3*a*; מִקְנְיָא, מִקְנְיָה B. M. 47*b*; מִבְעְיָא Keth. 2*a*, Ber. 2*b*.

c) muqtal: מוּקְטָה Yeb. 40*a*; מוּמְחָא Sabb. 58*a*.

d) miqtalat: מִכְפַּת Gitt. 62*a* (§222*e*).

e) iqtal: אִיתְנָא Bekh. 44*a* (§259*j*, n. 2).

f) qutulê: לְסַגּוֹרֵי Sanh. 95*a*; לַהֲתוֹרֵי A. Z. 38*b*; לְטַפּוֹרֵי B. B. 93*b*; לְתַנּוֹרֵי Ber. 11*b*; שְׁבוֹרֵי M. MS. Ber. 60*b*; לַעֲרוֹבֵי B. M. 40*b*.[4]

[1] רְפָנוּ *are at leisure*, Ned. 37*b*.

[2] שְׁהֵירִי *HG.* ed. pr. 68*d*.

[3] A form like קְנָה may be explained as a shortening from קְנָאִי = קְנִי, or like the infinitive מְקָנָא and the imperative in the derived conjugations in Syriac, as a reminiscence of verbs ל״א or ל״ך. But it is more probably a kind of precative perfect. *Cf.* §244*b*. The use of the third for the second person would offer no difficulty in our idiom.

[4] לְשַׁהוֹרֵי *Hal. Pes.*, p. 80; לְמִחוֹרֵי *TG.* ed. Cassel, §7; עֲנוֹרֵי *MV.* 32; מֵיעֲנְיָה *ibid.* 31; מָעֲנְיָה *ibid.* 34.

g) miqtalân: לְמִיסְחָן *to bathe*, Pes. 118*b*. This form is uncertain, as the ending *-an* may also be the objective suffix 3d plur.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—*Sing. masc.*—§554. בָּלֵי Ber. 5*b*; תָּנֵי Macc. 7*a*; שָׁתֵי *ibid.* 16*b*; מָצֵי Ned. 19*b*; צָרֵי *splits*, Ḥull. 123*b*;[1] בָּאֵי Sabb. 156*a*;[2] שָׁאנֵי *is different*, Pes. 23*a*, *passim*;[3] בַּעֵי C. MS. Meg. 12*a* (voc.); מַיְילֵי *fills*, *MM.* Sabb. 10*b*; מַיְילָא *is full*, *ibid.* Taan. 24*a* (§80, and Nöldeke, *MG.* §22).

Sing. fem.—§555. עָמְיָא *gets dark*, Ber. 53*b*; דָּמְיָא Ned. 71*b*; מָשְׁיָא *washes*, *ibid.* 91*a*; בָּעְיָא Gitt. 84*a*; לָקְיָא *ibid.*; קָנְיָא Qidd. 7*a*; שָׁתְיָא M. Q. 4*a*; בָּרְיָא *let her get well*, Taan. 21*b*;[4] שָׁרְיָא Gitt. 83*b*; לָקְרְיָא Ned. 68*a*.

Plur. masc.—§556. *a*) בָּעִין Taan. 24*b*; בְּעֵין *ibid.*;[5] קָרֵי Sanh. 13*b*; עָנֵי Sôtā 48*a*; בָּכֵי Sanh. 103*a*; תָּלֵי Yalq. MS. B. Q. 113*b*; סָגֵי *walk*, B. M. 44*b*.

b) דָּכָן Pes. 116*a*; סָגָן Sabb. 88*b*; תָּאנָן C. MS. M. Q. 3*b*.[6]

c) קָרוּ M. Q. 12*a*, Ned. 49*a*, 52*b*; בָּעוּ B. Q. 59*b*; שָׁתוּ M. Q. 14*b*; רָמוּ *ibid.* 19*a*; מָצוּ Gitt. 38*a*; הָזוּ Succ. 20*b*.[7]

Plur. fem.—§557. *a*) בָּעְיָן Ned. 37*b*, 39*b*; סָגְיָן B. M. 45*a*; זָכְיָן Ber. 17*a*; קָשְׁיָן *ibid.* 25*b*; דָּמְיָן *ibid.* 20*a*; גָּנְיָאן Sabb. 65*a*; מָלְיָן M. MS. Sabb. 62*b*.

b) חָטְאָן B. B. 91*b*; מָלְאָן Sabb. 62*b*.

PASSIVE PARTICIPLE.—*Sing. masc.*—§558. *a*) מְלֵי C. MS. Meg. 7*a* (voc.); צְלֵי Ned. 51*b*; בְּעֵי Ber. 16*a*; גְּלֵי M. Q. 28*a*; פְּלֵי Nidd. 21*a*; חָזֵי (MSS. חָאזֵי) M. Q. 12*b*; שָׁרֵי, סָנֵי, C. MS. Meg. 25*b* (voc.); *e*. חָזְיָא *fit*, Ber. 23*a*.—סָנְאֵי Meg. 25*b*; טִישָׁא *hidden*, M. MS. A. Z. 70*a* (passing into ע״ו).

[1] עָאנָה *HG.* 69.

[2] This is usually taken to be a nominal form בַּנָּאי.

[3] Pronounce שָׁרְנֵי with diphthongization (§80). For vocalization compare רָאתִיב (§432, n. 3) = ʾaiṯēb. These and other examples go to show that our traditional vocalization is younger than the fixed orthography of the text, a phenomenon not to be wondered at, since such pronunciation may be at least six hundred years later than the fixing of the text. In the light of this, the statement in §17 should be modified.

[4] For the imperative use of the participle *cf.* Nöldeke, *MG.*, p. 378; and Maclean, *op. cit.*, p. 142. *Cf.* also the frequent חָזֵי מָר and סָבְרִי מָרָנָן in the זְמוּן-formula.

[5] This may also be the fem. בָּעְיָן; *cf.* §234.

[6] בָּעָן *HG.* 277.

[7] קָאבָעֵי *SM.* No. LXXII. (voc.); בָּעֵי *JQR.* IX. 682 (voc.).

b) *e.* דְּחוּיָא *debarred, unfit*, Ber. 23*a*.[1]

Sing. fem.—§559. שַׁדְיָא Sabb. 63*b*; שַׁרְיָא Yeb. 8*a*, Ber. 36*b*; סַנְיָא Pes. 113*a*; חַזְיָא M. Q. 18*b*; תַּלְיָא Ber. 25*a*; בַּזְיָא, בִּיזְיָא, Tem. 7*a* (§69); סִירְיָא *TF.* Ker. 6*a*.

b) בְּקִיאָה Ḥag. 5*a*, Qidd. 7*b*; בְּזוּיָא Pes. 110*a*.[2]

Plur. masc.—§560. *a*) שְׁדִין ʿEr. 44*b*; סָנֵין ʿEn Y. Ned. 50*b*; גְּלֵין Sabb. 156*a*; סְנִיר Meg. 14*b*; שְׁדַרִין Ber. 61*b*, Yeb. 8*a*; שְׁבֵי *captives*, Qidd. 72*b*.[3]

b) חָזוּ *fit*, Sabb. 124*b*; קְנוּ B. M. 73*a*; סָנוּ *homely*, Ned. 50*b*; קְווּ *are gathered*, Yeb. 121*a*.

c) בְּרִיר Keth. 60*b*; בְּקִיאִי Qidd. 30*a*.

Plur. fem.—§561. *a*) קַשְׁיָן B. B. 84*b*; קָרְיָן Ned. 37*b*, 38*a*; רַמְיָאן M. MS. Sabb. 138*a*; O. MS. *ibid.* רַמְיָן.

b) *e.* שְׁבוּרְיָתָא Qidd. 81*a*.

Participles with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.—*Active Participle.*—§562. *a*) בָּעִינָא Sanh. 94*b*; בָּכִינָא Keth. 103*b*; חָזִינָא Ber. 13*b*; סָנֵינָא *I hate*, Yômâ 9*b*; רָעֵינָא, צָבֵינָא, Yeb. 107*b*; קָרֵינָא, קָרְיֵינָא, *I read the Bible*, Qidd. 49*b*; שָׂדַרְיֵינָא *I sow*, Keth. 103*b*; שָׁהֵינָן Sabb. 37*b*.[4]

b) טָעֵית Nidd. 3*b*; דָּרֵית *carriest*, Meg. 28*a*; צָחֵית *art thirsty*, Ber. 62*b*; מָחֵית B. B. 17*b*; בָּנֵית M. MS. B. B. 4*a*.[5]

c) בָּעִינָא *we must*, Ber. 9*b*; רָמִינָן *ibid.* 7*a*; פָּפִינָן Keth. 63*b*; תָּלִינָן Nidd. 4*a*; מָחִינָן, מָצִינָן, *ibid.* 7*b*; בָּעָנָן, בָּנָן, *we want*, C. MS. Zeb. *passim* (§83); נָצִינָן M. Q. 16*a*; נָרִיצִינָן Alf. *ibid.* (§80); מָלְאִינָן A. Z. 53*b*.[6]

d) בָּעֵיתוּ Sanh. 93*a*; דָּמִיתוּ Taan. 14*b*; שָׁדִיתוּ A. Z. 72*b*.

Passive Participle.—§563. נְדִינָא Ned. 7*a*.—בְּקִיאִינָן *we are skilled*, Qidd. 30*a*.

[1] שְׁהוֹרָיָה *kept*, *HG.* ed. pr. 134*a*.

[2] מְטִיאָה *TR.* II. 13.

[3] חָזֵין Alfâsî Bêçā 33*b*.

[4] בָּעֵינָא *SM.* No. XXVIII. (voc.); זָכְרָאנָא *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §72; בָּעֲרָאנָה *TG.* ed. Cassel, §91 (*f.*).

[5] בָּעֵירִית *HG.* 103.

[6] חָזִינָה *HG.* 60; שָׁרָנָן *ibid.* 100; בָּעָנָן *ibid.* 97; מָחִירִנָן *ibid.* 207; תָּלִירִנָן *ibid.* 541; חָזִירִנָן *ibid.* 525; מִינִירָנָן *ibid.* 178 (§69); קָלִירִינוּן *HG.* ed. pr. 15*b*; חָזִרִינָנָא *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §64; חָזִינָנָא *ibid.* §78.

EXAMPLES FOR PA"ĒL.

PERFECT.—§564. *3d sing. masc.: a)* שִׁנֵּי C. MS. Meg. 14*b* (voc.); צִלֵּי *he prayed*, Ber. 21*a;* דִּלֵּי Ned. 50*a;* שִׁפֵּי Sabb. 98*b;* תִּתֵּי *he lowered*, M. MS. Zeb. 19*a;* בְּאֵזֵי B. B. 37*a* (with resolution of doubling).

b) לַוַּאי Keth. 72*a;* מִיחָא Sabb. 58*a;* מָחָה B. B. 39*b*.

3d sing. fem.: a) שַׁנָּאי Yeb. 65*b;* מַחָאי Keth. 68*b*.

b) גַּלְיָא A. Z. 28*a;* גַּלְיָא Meg. 13*a*.[1]

2d sing. com.: גַּלִּית B. B. 5*a;* שַׁנִּית *didst change*, B. M. 96*b*.

1st sing. com.: a) צִלִּיתִי M. MS. Ber. 30*b;* eds. צִלֵּי.

b) שַׁנֵּי *I answered*, Bêçā 22*a;* רַבַּאי *I raised*, B. M. 109*a;* שַׁוַּאי *I made*, Sabb. 156*b;* דַּלַּאי Yeb. 92*b*.

3d plur. masc.: לַוּוּ Pes. 52*b;* שַׁוּוּ *they made*, Yeb. 34*a;* צַלּוּ *they prayed*, Ber. 30*b*.

3d plur. fem.: זַנַּאי *they committed adultery*, Keth. 101*b*.

IMPERFECT.—§565. *3d sing. masc.: a)* לְגַלֵּי Ber. 55*b;* לְיַמֵּלֵי *ibid.* 6*a;* לְיַצֵּלֵי *ibid.* 7*b;* לְיַרַצֵּי *makes expiation*, Zeb. 5*a*.

b) לְיַטַּמֵּא *makes unclean*, Ḥull. 70*a*.

3d sing. fem.: תְּרַבֵּי *grows, raises*, B. M. 71*a*.

2d sing. com.: תְּיַגְּרֵי Sanh. 97*a*.—תְּקַנָּא Pes. 113*a*.

1st sing. com.: אֶישַׁנֵּי Sanh. 96*a;* אֵירַסֵּי *ibid.* 96*b;* אֲשַׁפֵּי B. M. 15*a;* אֲצַלֵּי Ber. 30*a;* אֲגָרֵי Taan. 25*a*.

3d plur. masc.: לְיַרַצּוּ Zeb. 5*a;* לְיַמְּלֵי Sabb. 148*a*.

2d plur. masc.: תְּיַגְּלוּ Ned. 40*a;* תְּיַפְּנוּן Sabb. 140*b*.

1st plur. com.: נְיַתְּתֵי *we lower*, Zeb. 54*b*.

IMPERATIVE.—§566. *Sing. masc.:* צַלֵּי Ber. 30*a;* פַּנֵּי Pes. 62*a;* שַׁנֵּי Taan. 24*a;* סַמֵּי Sabb. 52*a;* שַׁפֵּי Gitt. 73*a;* נַסֵּי Sanh. 107*b*.

Plur. masc.: דַּלּוּ B. Q. 117*a;* פַּנּוּ Pes. 111*b;* כַּסּוּ ʿEn Y. M. Q. 28*b;* גַּלּוּלִי (= גַּלּוּ לִי) Sanh. 96*b;* כַּסּוּי *cover yourselves*, M. Q. 28*b* (§532).[2]

INFINITIVE.—§567. *a)* qattûlê: צַלּוּיֵי Ned. 49*b*, Ber. 7*b;* בְּזוּיֵי Ned. 91*a;* גַּלּוּיֵי Sabb. 10*b;* תַּנּוּיֵי Ber. 20*a;* דַּלּוּיֵי *ibid.*

[1] זַנְרָאת *HG.* 327; שַׁוְרָאת *Še'ēl.* 121.

[2] There are a number of examples of Qal and Pa"ēl used where we should expect a reflexive form. *Cf.* the same phenomenon in Biblical Aramaic (Baer's *Daniel*, p. lix). The explanation given there is too mechanical. The solution is rather to be found in semasiological reasons. *Cf.* Hebrew הָמַל Ps. 10:3 and פתח in many cases, and Syr. ܦܬܚ *fluctibus agitatus est.*

57*a*; טַמּוֹרֵי Zeb. 21*a*; לְשַׁוּרֵי Qidd. 45*b*; רַבּוֹרֵי C. MS. Meg. 13*a* (voc.); חָרוֹרֵי ʿArûkh A. Z. 38*b*; בָּאזוֹזֵי B. B. 37*a*.[1]

b) qattûlâ: דַּחוּרְיָא Šebu. 40*b*.

c) qattûl: רַפּוּר B. B. 142*a*; לְצַלּוּר Succ. 41*b*; לְשַׁוּר Sabb. 155*a*.

d) qittûl: גִּילּוֹר ʿEr. 88*a*.

e) qattâlû: (לְנַסְיוּנְהוּ Rašî Sanh. 101*b*).

f) qattâlût: (לְמַלְיוּתֵיהּ *to fill it up*, B. M. 105*b*).

g) maqattâlâ: לְמִידַּלְיָא Qidd. 81*a*; (לְמִמַּנְיֵיהּ Sôtā 40*a*; לְמִמַּלְיֵיהּ M. Q. 10*a*).

h) maqattal or maqattil: לְמִפְּנֵי *to ease oneself*, Ber. 62*a*; מְמַלָּא or מְמַלֵּא ʿEr. 12*a*; (לְמִינַסְנְהוּ Sanh. 101*b*).[2]

Active Participle.—§568. *Sing. masc.*: מְזַכֵּי Ned. 36*a*; מְשַׁכֵּי *ibid.* 43*b*; מִירַצֵּי Zab. 5*a*; מְעַוֵּי Yeb. 71*b*; מְשַׁסֵּי B. Q. 24*b*; מְעַוֵּאר Ḥull. 53*a*.

Sing. fem.: מְכַלְיָא Sabb. 140*b*; מְגַלְיָא Ber. 59*a*; מְסַפְיָא *waits longingly*, Keth. 62*b*; מְמַחְיָא *ibid.* 11*a*; מְחַרְיָא *rakes*, Ḥag. 5*a*; מְטַמְיָא, מִיטַּמְיָא, Bekh. 34*b*; מְשַׁדְיָא *throws*, R. H. 24*a*.

Plur. masc.: *a*) מְבַזְּין Ned. 65*a*; מְצַלֵּי Ber. 30*b*; מְפַגֵּי Sabb. 140*b*; מִיטַּמֵּי Pes. 97*a*; מְסַנְּוּ Keth. 105*b*; מְצַלּוּ Ber. 30*a*; מְגַלּוּ Sabb. 18*b*.

b) מִיטַּמְאִי M. MS. Pes. 97*b*.

Plur. fem.: מְדַכְּן *observe cleanness*, Nidd. 66*b*; מְשָׁרְרָן *sing antiphonically*, Sanh. 14*a*.[3]

Passive Participle.—§569. *Sing. masc.*: מְעַכֵּי or מְעֻכֵּי Ned. 49*b*.[4]

Sing. fem.: מְגַלְיָא Sabb. 29*b*; מְדַכְּיָא *is on high sea*, Ber. 57*a*; מְעַכְּיָא Šebu. 45*b*; *e.* מְעֻלְיָתָא Bêçā 32*b*.

Plur. masc.: מְעַכִּין Sabb. 65*a*; מְחַפֵּי *covered*, Gitt. 58*a*; מְעַלּוּ Sabb. 109*b*, Ber. 10*a*.[5]

[1] The two last examples passing into ע"ע forms. The last example with resolution of doubling.

[2] לְצַלּוּר *HG.* 30; עָרוּר *TG.* ed. Cassel, §86; לְמִסְמָא *Igg. Šerirâ* 24; לְצַלּוּרֵי, לְצַלּוּרְיָה, מְצַלּוּרֵי *TR.* II. 10; לְצַלּוֹר *ibid.* 22; שַׁוּר *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §82.

[3] *Cf.* Syriac ܐܘܢܝܬܐ *antiphony*. The Samaritan שרר, which Heidenheim explains as a contraction of שִׁירֵי יְהוָה (*Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Englisch-theol. Forsch. u. Kritik*, I., 406–7), probably has the same meaning, and must be vocalized שָׁרְרוּ.

[4] The uniform orthography מעלי speaks for the form מְעֻלֵּי.

[5] מְעַלֵּי *HG.* 257.

Plur. fem.: מְשַׁפְּרִין *are trimmed*, B. B. 69*a;* מְעַלָּן Ḥag. 5*a;* *e.* מְעַלְּיָתָא Ber. 8*a*. *Cf.* §226.

Participles with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.—*Active Participle.*—§570. *a*) מְטַמֵּינָא Nidd. 20*b;* מְצַלֵּינָא Ber. 8*a;* מְטַפֵּינָא *I give more*, B. B. 107*b;* מְיַנְסֵינָא, מְיַנְסֵנָא, Sanh. 107*a*.

b) מְגַלַּת A. Z. 28*a*.

c) מְשַׁוֵּינָן Succ. 48*b;* מְלַוֵּינָן Sabb. 118*a;* מְכַנֵּינָן Šebu. 3*b;* מְנַכֵּינָן *we deduct*, B. M. 109*a;* מְמַלְּאִינָן ʿEr. 12*a;* מְשַׁגֵּינָן Qidd. 4*b;* מְדַמֵּינָן B. B. 130*b*.[1]

d) מְטַמְּאִיתּוּ Nidd. 19*b;* מְדַמֵּיתוּן Ned. 30*a;* מְתַנְּיתוּ Ber. 55*a*.

Passive Participle.—§571. מְעַלֵּינָן *we are better*, Pes. 87*b*, Zeb. 55*a*.

EXAMPLES FOR APHʿĒL.

Perfect.—§572. *3d sing. masc.:* אַהֲנִי Ber. 8*a;* אַחֲרִי *ibid.* 48*a;* אַמְטִי Sabb. 110*a;* אַחֲזִי Qidd. 70*b;* אַמְצִי M. Q. 28*a;* אַרְצִי *he counted*, B. B. 48*b;* אַבְרִי *ibid.* 155*b*.

3d sing. fem.: a) אַהַנְיָא B. Q. 99*b;* אַחַזְיָא Yômâ 53*b*, Sanh. 93*a*.

b) אַתְלָא *she lit*, Sabb. 26*a;* אִיתְלָא ʿEn Y. *ibid.*

2d sing. com.: אַהֲנֵית B. M. 63*b*, A. Z. 14*b;* אַחֲרֵית Ḥag. 5*a;* אַמְטֵית Sanh. 109*a;* אַמְטַיְית Ber. 9*b;* אַמְטֵי M. MS. *ibid.;* אַהֲנַת B. M. 84*a;* אַמְטַת Gitt. 37*b*.

1st sing. com.: אַקְשֵׁי *I asked*, Ḥull. 57*b;* אַבְרֵי B. Q. 36*b;* אַתְנֵי ʿEr. 54*b;* אַקְנֵאי B. M. 34*b;* אַהְנֵאי A. Z. 14*b;* אַמְטֵאי Sanh. 109*a*, B. M. 73*b;* אַנְשֵׁאי Ber. 53*b;* אַהֲנֵיי H. MS. B. M. 84*a*.

3d plur. masc.: a) אַמְטוּ Sanh. 109*a;* אַהֲנוּ *ibid.* 99*b;* אַחְזוּ Ber. 28*a;* אַתְנוּ C. MS. Meg. 12*a* (voc.); אַרְצוּ Ḥag. 14*b;* אַתְנֵי Sanh. 109*b;* אַיְפְלֵי M. MS. A. Z. 74*b;* אַמְטוּי Sabb. 129*a* (§532); אַחְרְיאוּ Yômâ 22*b*.[2]

1st plur. com.: אַחְוֵינָא Ḥull. 110*b;* אַרְמֵינָא Sabb. 156*b;* אַקְשֵׁינָן Ḥull. 139*b*.

Imperfect.—§573. *3d sing. masc.:* לַלְקֵי Qidd. 81*a;* לַשְׁקֵי Bêçā 4*a;* לִיבְצֵי Taan. 29*b;* לִיבְרֵי B. B. 155*b;* לַאשְׁרֵי Qidd. 76*b* (§208, note); לֵיחֱוֵי B. B. 167*a*.[3]

[1] מְצַלֵּינָן *TR.* II. 1*b;* מְגַלֵּינָנָא *TG.* ed. Cassel, §91.

[2] אַתְנִיוּן *Igg. Šerirā* 25.—אַקְשֵׁיתְהוּן *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §74.

[3] יַחְוֵי Ḥag. 5*b*.

3d sing. fem.: תַּקְנִי B. Q. 49*b;* תַּשְׁרִי B. M. 71*a.*

2d sing. masc.: תַּחֲרִי B. Q. 117*a.*

3d plur. masc.: לִירְצוּ R. H. 5*b.*[1]

2d plur. masc.: תַּחְלוּ A. Z. 37*b.*

Imperative.—§574. *Sing. masc.:* אַחֲרִי M. Q. 22*b;* אַמְטִי Pes. 104*b*, Yeb. 46*a;* אַצְלִי Bêçā 15*a;* אַסְפִי B. B. 21*a;* אִיבְּרַאי M. MS. Taan. 21*b;* אַחֲרִי B. Q. 116*b.*

Sing. fem.: אִיתְלִי *light*, Sabb. 26*a;* אַחְרִין Rašî *ibid.* 140*b.*

Plur. masc.: אַשְׁווּ Pes. 30*a;* אַתְלוּ Sabb. 35*b;* אַתְנוּ B. M. 85*b;* אַקְרוּ Ned. 50*a;* אַמְטוּ *bring ye*, A. Z. 10*b.*

Plur. fem.: אַחֲרִי Sabb. 140*b.*

Infinitive.—§575. *a*) 'aqtûlê: אַקְצוֹרֵי Ned. 20*b;* אַשְׁקוֹרֵי Qidd. 9*a;* אַקְרוֹרֵי Ber. 17*a;* אַצְלוֹרֵי Sabb. 13*a;* אַפְנוֹרֵי Yeb. 74*b;* אַקְנוֹרֵי B. M. 45*b;* אַחֲרֵי Sanh. 36*a;* לְאַשְׁוֹרֵי Sabb. 141*a;* אַפְלוֹרֵי Ber. 25*a;* אִיפְּלוֹאֵי M. MS. *ibid.;* לְרַפּוֹרֵי M. Q. 2*b;* לַשְׁחוֹרֵי A. Z. 16*a*, for לְאַרְפּוֹרֵי, לְאַשְׁחוֹרֵי; אַתְנֵי C. MS. Meg. 12*a* (voc.).

b) 'aqtûlâ: אַשְׁקוֹרְיָא Alfâsî Qidd. 9*a.*

c) maqtûlê: מַרְפּוֹרֵי M. Q. 2*b.*

d) maqtal or maqtil: מֵיחֲרֵי B. B. 167*a;* לְמַחְרֵי *ibid.* 'En Y.; מַחְרֵי B. Q. 86*a.*[2]

Active Participle.—§576. *Sing. masc.:* מַתְנֵי Ned. 16*b;* מַמְטֵי Succ. 37*b;* מַרְפֵּי M. Q. 2*b;* מַרְעֵי Sanh. 109*ab;* מִיקְרֵי Taan. 24*a;* מִיכְלֵי Zeb. 42*b;* מַחְוֵיי *shows*, 'Arûkh B. Q. 86*a.*

Sing. fem.: מַרְצְיָא Ned. 20*b;* מַחְוְיָא Keth. 65*a;* מַרְבְּיָא Ber. 62*a;* מַיְפְלָאי Ber. 25*a* (§224); מַסְגְיָא B. B. 73*b;* מַקְנְיָא Qidd. 7*a.*[3]

Plur. masc.: מַתְרוּ Macc. 10*b;* מַתְרִין M. Q. 16*a;* מַסְגִי B. M. 81*b;* מַחְרֵי Ber. 55*b;* מַדְחַן Ned. 50*a;* מִיקְנוּ B. M. 45*b;* מַדְלַן Pes. 113*b.*

Plur. fem.: מַקְרָן, מַתְנָן Sôtā 21*a;* מַסְגָן Sabb. 79*b;* מְמִינָן *take a vote*, Pes. 52*a*, passing into ע"ו.

Passive Participle.—§577. מַרְפְּיָאן B. B. 142*a.*

Participles with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.—§578. *Active Participle.—a*) מַתְנֵינָא Ber. 49*a;* מַסְגֵינָא Yômâ 86*a;* מְדִיגְנָא *I lay down*, Sabb. 119*a*, passing into ע"ו; מַחְזֵינָא Bekh. 37*b.*

[1] לַקְנִירוּן *HG.* ed. pr. 109*d.*

[2] לְאוֹצְלוֹרֵי *TR.* II. 16; אַצְלוֹרֵי *ibid.* 42; לְמַשְׁחֵי *HG.* ed. pr. 35*e;* לְאַשְׁקוֹרֵי *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §342; לְאַסְגְיָא *SM.* No. VII.

[3] מַשְׁחָא *HG.* ed. pr. 68*d.*

b) מַקְשִׁית Nidd. 3*b*; מַחְזִית Sanh. 39; מִיחֲזִית Ḥull. 59*b*; מַרְפִּית B. B. 17*b*; מַתְנִית Ker. 25*b*; מַטְעִית B. B. 153*a*.

c) מַרְמִינָן Sabb. 156*b*; מַמְטִינָן B. B. 21*a*; מַסְפִּינָן Yômâ 83*a*; מַחְרִינָן B. Q. 23*b*; מַשְׁקִינָן Sanh. 20*a*.[1]

d) מַתְנִיתוֹן Sabb. 145*a*.[2]

EXAMPLES FOR ITHP$^{E'}$ĒL.

PERFECT.—§579. *3d sing. masc.*: *a*) אִיתְּהַנִי Ned. 50*a*; אִיתְּחֲזִי M. Q. 28*a*; אִשְׁתְּרִי Ned. 50*a*; אִיקְּרִי *ibid.* 25*a*; אִיבְּרִי *ibid.* 39*b*; אִידְּחִי Zeb. 19*b*.

b) אִיתְּחֲזָאי B. M. 84*b*; אִישְׁתְּבָאי Gitt. 45*a*; אִיבָּעָאי Sôtā 48*b*.

c) אִיבְּרָא Pes. 104*a*;[3] אִיקּוֹשׁ Sabb. 74*b*; אִיקּוֹשָׁא *ibid.* ed. Ven.; eds. אִיקִּישׁ; M. MS. אִקִּישׁ *was hardened*; אִימַּר *he refused*, B. M. 77*a* (§87).

3d sing. fem.: אִיקַּנְיָא Bekh. 31*b*; אִיקַּשְׁיָא Sanh. 93*b*; אִשְׁתַּרְיָא Yeb. 105*a*; אִיסְתַּגְיָא H. MS. B. B. 74*a*; אִיתַּלְיָא ʿEn Y. Sabb. 156*a*; אִיחַזְיָא Yeb. 8*a*; אִיגַּלְיָה Sanh. 107*a*; אִיבַּעְיָא Ned. 68*a*.

b) אִיבְּרָאי Nidd. 50*b*; אִיגְּלָאי Ḥull. 56*b*; אִיקְּרָאי M. MS. Men. 3*b*; אִידְּחָאי Zeb. 32*b*; אִשְׁתְּבָאי Gitt. 38*a*; אִישְׁתְּרָאי Zeb. 16*b*, 32*b*; אִימְּרָאי ʿArûkh Ḥull. 58*b*; אִיבָּעָאי Keth. 49*a*.

c) אִישְׁוּוֹא Pes. 76*b*; אִימְּרָא Ḥull. 58*b*.[4]

2d sing. com.: אִיתְּהַנֵית B. Q. 20*b*; אִימְּרֵית Yeb. 79*a*, Sôtā 35*b*.

1st sing. com.: אִשְׁתְּלֵי Ber. 53*a*; אִשְׁתְּלַאי Bêçā 4*b*.

3d plur. masc.: אִיתְּחִזוּ Sabb. 156*a*; אִיתְּקִרוּ Ned. 31*a*; אִישְׁתְּרוּ Ḥull. 17*a*; אִימְּנוּ B. B. 12*b*, Sôtā 40*b*; אִיקְּרוּ Ber. 25*b*; אִיחֲזוּ *ibid.* 28*a*; אִיבְּרוּ Sabb. 156*a*; אִיתְּלוּ Ḥull. 17*a*; אִיעֲנוּ Taan. 23*b*; אִיבָּעֵי Sôtā 48*a*; אִיבָּעִין ʿEn Y. *ibid.*[5]

3d plur. fem.: אִישְׁתְּבִיין Keth. 23*a*; אִיגְּלִיָא Gitt. 56*b* (§226).[6]

1st plur. com.: אִשְׁתְּלִין Keth. 33*a*.

IMPERFECT.—§580. *3d sing. masc.*: *a*) לִיתְּהַנֵי Sabb. 120*b*; לִישְׁתְּרֵי Sabb. 35*a*; נִישְׁתְּרֵי ʿEr. 12*b*; לֵיחֲזֵי M. Q. 28*a*; לִיבָּעֵי Ned. 67*b*.[7]

[1] מַלְקִינוּ *MV.* 76.

[2] מַגְבִּירִיתוֹן *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §235.

[3] אִירְתְּמָא *HG.* ed. pr. 66*b*; אֲדַמֵּי *SM.* No. XXV. (voc.).

[4] אִישְׁתְּבִיאָה *HG.* 454; אִיגְּלִיאַת *HG.* ed. pr. 95*b*.

[5] אִירְתְּפְצִיאוּ *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §546.

[6] אִשְׁתְּרִיִין Alfasî Pes. 48*b*.

[7] יִתְקְרֵי B. M. 85*b*, Sabb. 156*a*; נִיתִּימְצֵי *HG.* ed. pr. 126*d*; לִישְׁתְּהֵאי *HG.* 73.

b) לִיתְשְׁדָא ʿArûkh Gitt. 68*a*.

3d sing. fem.: תִּישְׁתְּרֵי Yeb. 8*b*; תִּתְקְפֵי ʿEr. 53*b*; תִּיהֲנֵי Men. 12*a*; תִּיבְּעֵי Ned. 7*a*, 10*b*, 21*b*, 51*b*, Nāz. 13*b*.

2d sing. fem.: תִּסְתְּפֵי Sanh. 94*b*.

1st sing. com.: אִיתְּהֲנֵי Ned. 50*a*.

3d plur. masc.: לִישְׁתְּרוּ ʿAr. 29*a*, M. Q. 13*a*, Bekh. 57*a*; לִיעֲנֵי Taan. 23*b*; נִבְּעוּ Ber. 49*a*; נְבָּעוּ ed. Ven. *ibid.*

3d plur. fem.: לִשְׁתְּרִיאַן C. MS. M. Q. 13*a*.

2d plur. masc.: תִּתְחֲזוּ Ber. 35*b*; תִּשְׁתְּרוּ Yeb. 37*a*.

Imperative.—§581. *Sing. masc.:* אִיקְּרֵי B. M. 40*b*.

Sing. fem.: אִסְתְּפֵי Sanh. 94*b*.

Plur. masc.: אִיכְּלוּ *be locked up*, Bekh. 8*b*.

Infinitive.—§582. *a*) ʾithqatûlê: אִיקְּרוֹיֵי B. B. 30*a*; אִיתְּרְמוֹיֵי Meg. 18*b*; אִיתְּחֲזוֹיֵי B. M. 63*b*, Ned. 50*a*; לִיגְּלוֹיֵי Sabb. 110*b* (§50); אִיבָּעוֹיֵי ʿAr. 5*a*.

b) ʾithqatûl: אִיתְּמְחוֹר Sabb. 113*b*; with loss of last stem-consonant, אִיתְּמְחוֹ O. MS. *ibid.*; לְאִשְׁתְּרוֹי *TF.* Ker. 26*a*.

c) ʾithqatal: אִישְׁתְּרָא Yeb. 7*b*; לְאִיתְּחָזָא ʿEn Y. Ned. 50*a*.

d) ʾithqatâlûth: אִשְׁתְּרִיוּ Ned. 50*a*.

e) ʾithqûtal: אִיתְּרוֹמֵי A. Z. 70*b*; אִיבּוֹעֵי F. MS. B. Q. 43*b*; אִיתְּרוֹמֵי Ḥull. 12*a*; by analogy with strong verbs.[1]

Participle.—§583. *Sing. masc.:* מִתְּקְרֵי Tām. 32*a*; מִתְּחֲזֵי Ned. 77*a*; מִשְׁתְּחֵי Sabb. 109*a*; מִימְנֵי Pes. 60*b*; מִיחְזֵי M. Q. 7*a*; מִיעְנֵי Ned. 65*b*; מִישְׁוֵי B. Q. 119*b*; מִימְחָא Sabb. 161*ab*; מִידְּלָא *is raised*, Sabb. 99*b*.

Sing. fem.: מִיקַּרְיָא Ned. 55*a*, Ber. 15*a*; מִתְּחָזְיָא Ber. 59*b*; מִתְּהָנְיָא Yeb. 13*a*; מִידְּחְיָא Yeb. 32*a*; מִתְּקְרִית Hôr. 5*b* (§232*b*); מִיבְּעָאי F. MS. B. Q. 43*b*.

Plur. masc.: מְשְׁתְּרוּ ʿEr. 8*b*; מִיבְּרוּ Sanh. 65*b*; מִתְּמְנֵי Pes. 89*a*; מְשְׁתְּלֵי Ber. 23*a*; מִסְתְּגֵי B. M. 107*b*.[2]

Plur. fem.: מִיגַּלְיָין Sabb. 79*b*; מִתְּקְרָן B. B. 61*b*; מִיקַּנָּן *ibid.* 77*a*; מִידַּלְיָין Bekh. 55*b*; מִתְּחַזְיָין Men. 37*b*, Tem. 22*a*; מִיקְּרְיָין Ker. 15*a*; מִיקַּלְיָין B. M. 85*b*; מְדַּמְיָן Ber. 56*a*; *e.* מְשַׁוְיָתָא Ber. 44*b*.[3]

[1] אִשְׁתְּרוֹי *HG.* 275; לְאִיגְּלוֹי Alf. B. M. 102*b*; מִיבְּעֵי Jud. b. Barzillai al-Barcelônî in *JQR.* IX. 695.

[2] מְתְּרְמָן *HG.* 289; מִימְנוּי in יחוסי תנאים 1*b* (§532).

[3] מְשְׁתְּרְיָאן *HG.* ed. pr. 57*b*.

PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUN. — § 584. *a*) מִתְבָּעֵינָא *I am afraid*, C. MS. Meg. 13*b* (voc.); מִתְבָּעֵינָא Ḥag. 4*b*; מְבָּעֵינָא Sanh. 98*a*.

b) מְבָרֵית *thou art created*, ʿEn Y. Taan. 25*a*.

c) מְקַלֵּינָן *we are burned*, B. B. 73*a*.

d) מְסָתְּפִיתוּ *ye are afraid*, Ber. 62*a*; מְסָתְּפִיתֶן *MM. ibid.*

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPAʿAL.

PERFECT.—§585. *3d sing. masc.*: *a*) אִשְׁתַּנִּי Ber. 35*b*, Sanh. 96*a*; אִישְׁתְּעִי B. M. 85*b*; אִיכַּסִּי Taan. 25*a*; אִיבָּרִי Sanh. 64*a*; אִינַּבִּי B. B. 15*b*; אִיטַּמִּי Šebu. 18*b*, Zeb. 20*b*.

b) אִישְׁתָּמָא Šebu. 18*b*; אִישְׁתָּהָה Yeb. 42*a*.[1]

3d sing. fem.: *a*) אִישְׁתְּעִיָא B. M. 84*b*.

b) אִישְׁתַּנָּאי Men. 43*a*; אִיתְקְצָאי Bêçā 30*b*; אִיתְרַבָּאי Gitt. 77*b*.[2]

1st sing. com.: אִיתְרַצַּאי *I agreed*, B. B. 2*b*.

3d plur. masc.: אִיטַּמּוּ Pes. 33*b*, Zeb. 23ʾ*a*; אֲדַדּוּ Bêçā 11*a*; אִינַּבּוּ H. MS. B. B. 15*b*; אִיתְלַוּוּן Ned. 22*a*; אִיתְלַוּוּן ʿEn Y. *ibid.*; אִיתְרַבּוּ, אִיתְרַבִּי, Men. 93*b*; אִינַּבּוּ B. B. 16*b* (§532); אִינַּבִּיאוּ M. MS. *ibid.*; אִיתְרָעִיאוּ Hag. Hatt. *ibid.*; אִיתְרָעִיאוּ Sanh. 94*b*; אִשְׁתַּנִּיאוּ C. MS. M. Q. 25*b* (eds. אִישְׁתְּעוּ).

IMPERFECT.—§586. *3d sing. masc.*: לִישְׁתַּנֵּי Sanh. 40*b*, 44*b*; לִישְׁתָּעֵי Qidd. 70*b*.

3d sing. fem.: תִּתְגַּנֵּי Keth. 65*a*.

2d sing. masc.: תִּסְתַּכֵּי Sanh. 97*b*; תִּתְגַּרֵי A. Z. 10*a*.

3d plur. masc.: לִישְׁתַּנּוּ Sanh. 44*b*, 46*b*; לִישְׁתָּעוּ *ibid.* 107*a*; נִצְטָרּוּ A. Z. 65*b*.

2d plur. masc.: תִּשְׁתָּעוּ A. Z. 11*a*.

IMPERATIVE.—§587. *Sing. masc.*: אִיכַּסִּי R. H. 25*a*; אִיבָּרִי Gitt. 56*b*.[3]

Sing. fem.: אִסְתַּכִּי Sanh. 97*b*; אִיכַּסָּאי Keth. 63*a*.

INFINITIVE.—§588. *a*) ʾithqattûlê: אִיבָּרוֹרֵי ʿEr. 26*a*, Succ. 37*b*; אִיטַּמּוֹרֵי Macc. 2*a*; אֲדַדּוֹרֵי Bêçā 11*a*; לְקַנְאוֹרֵי Ber. 28*a*; לְאִיקַּנּוֹרֵי ed. Ven. *ibid.*

b) ʾithqattûl: אִינַּבּוֹר B. B. 15*b*; אִישְׁתַּהוֹר Alf. Yeb. 80*b*.

c) ʾmithqattâlâ: לְמִגַּנְיָא Sabb. 140*b*.[4]

[1] אִישְׁתָּעִי *HG.* ed. pr. 135*d*.

[2] אִשְׁתָּעִיאַת *SM.* No. XCV; אִיתְרַצָּא *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 228.

[3] אִשְׁתָּעִי *HG.* ed. pr. 101*b*.

[4] לְאִישְׁתּוֹעֵי *HG.* ed. pr. 2*b*, *Seder R. ʿAmrâm*, p. ג.

PARTICIPLE.—§589. *Sing. masc.:* מִיכַּסֵּי Ned. 49*b*; מִתְכַּסֵּי Sabb. 11*a*; מְשִׁתָּעֵי Yôm. 9*b*; מִיתְתֵי ʿEr. 85*b*; מִירַצֵּי, מְרַצֵּי, Taan. 23*b*; מְשִׁתַּסֵּי B. Q. 24*b*; מְחַבֵּי *ibid.* 60*b*; מְחַבָּא ʿEn Y. *ibid.*

Sing. fem.: מִיכַּסְיָא Ned. 49*b*, Ber. 25*b*; מְשִׁתָּעְיָא ʿEr. 53*b*; מִתְרַבְיָא Yeb. 87*a*; מִתְכַּבְיָא V. L. Sanh. 96*a*; מִינַּצְיָא B. M. 84; מִיתַּתְאֵי Pes. 108*a* (§224).

Plur. masc.: מִתְקַנְאִין Pes. 113*a*; מִישַׁמּוּ Zeb. 3*b*; מִינַּסּוּ Sanh. 107*a*; מִיתַּתְאֵי B. Q. 80*a* (nominal ending).

Plur. fem.: מִינַּסְיָין Sabb. 79*b*.

PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—§590. *a*) מְשִׁתָּחֲוִינָא B. M. 35*b*; מְשִׁתָּעֵינָא Gitt. 76*b*.

b) מִינַּצֵּית B. M. 85*b*; מִינַּסִּית Sanh. 107*a*; מְשִׁתָּעֵית Ber. 44*b*; מְשִׁתָּעַת ed. Ven. *ibid.*; מִינַּצַּת Keth. 103*b*; מְכַּסַּת ed. Ven. Ber. 56*b*.

DOUBLY WEAK VERBS.

A. THE VERBS הוה *to be* AND חיה *to live.*

QAL.—PERFECT.—§591. *3d sing. masc.:* הֲוָה Ned. 7*a*, 8*b*; הַוַאי *ibid.* 48*b*, 50*a*, C. MS. M. Q. 18*b*; הֲוִי Ber. 58*a*, Yômâ 18*a*; חֲיָה Ḥull. 7*b*.[1]

3d sing. fem.: הֲוָיָא Bêç. 23*a*; הַוַאי Macc. 10*a*; הֲוָות Ber. 20*b*, M. Q. 16*a*, 27*b*; הֲוָת R. H. 26*b*, Sanh. 82*a*; חֲיָית Ḥull. 7*b*.[2]

2d sing. com.: הֲוֵית Ber. 11*a*, B. M. 106*a*; חֲיֵית Taan. 25*a*; הֲוָות Ḥull. 95*a*, M. MS. B. M. 106*a*; הֲוַת Sanh. 102*b*, Ned. 21*b*.

1st sing. com.: הֲוֵיתִי Tām. 32*a*, Succ. 44*b*; הֲוָות Taan. 9*a*; הֲוָת B. M. 63*b*; הֲוִי A. Z. 55*a*; הַוַאי Sabb. 156*a*, Sanh. 109*b*; חֲיֵי Taan. 25*a*.

3d plur. masc.: הֲווּ Ned. 59*a*; הַווֹן ʿEn Y. Sanh. 37*a*; הֲוִי Zeb. 21*b*; הִי V. L. Sanh. 39*a*, Bekh. 3*b*.[3]

3d plur. fem.: הֲוָיִן O. MS. ʿEr. 62*b*; הַוַאי *AE.* Meg. 13*b*.

2d plur. masc.: הֲוֵיתוּן Sanh. 8*b*.

1st plur. com.: הֲוֵינָן Ber. 21*a*, B. Q. 92*b*, Ḥull. 76*a*; הַוֵינָא ʿEr. 89*b*, ed. Sal.; הַוַאן B. B. 25*b*, 98*a*; הֲוֹון C. MS. M. Q. 25*a*; הֲוַיִן or הֲוַיִין Sabb. 156*a*.

[1] הֲוִי *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 2; הִי *SM.* No. xxv. *Cf.* the same form in the particles אֵיכְהִי and מֵיכְהִי, §182.

[2] הֲוַת *HG.* 250.

[3] הוֹן *HG.* 301; הֲוִין *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 7; הֲוִי *ibid.* 12.

IMPERFECT.[1]—§592. *3d sing. masc.:* לֵיהֱוֵי M. Q. 17*a*, Ber. 52*a;* נֵהֱוֵי Yômâ 18*a;* נֵיהֱוֶה ʿEn Y. Sôt. 46*b;* יֵהֱוֵי Ber. 55*b;* יְהֵי Sabb. 156*a;* נְהֵי A. Z. 65*a*, *passim;* נִיחוּ eds. B. M. 12*b;* נַיְחֵי Tem. 6*b*, B. M. 62*a*.[2]

3d sing. fem.: תֵּהֱוֵי Macc. 11*a*, M. Q. 7*a;* תֵּיחֵי Ḥull. 38*b*.

2d sing. masc.: תֵּהֱוֵי Nidd. 33*b*.

2d sing. fem.: תֵּיהֱוֵיין Gitt. 85*b* (legal style; the three yôdhs are to prevent the reading תֵּיהֱוֵין).[3]

1st sing. com.: אֵיהֱוֵי B. M. 8*a;* אֵיחֵי Ḥull. 44*b;* אֶחְיֵי 3 R. MS. *ibid.*

3d plur. masc.: לֵיהֱווּ M. Q. 27*b;* נֵהֱווּ Pes. 38*a;* יֵהֱוֵי B. B. 142*b;* יֵהֱווּ Alf. *ibid.;* יְהוּ Macc. 4*b;* יֵהֱוֵין B. B. 131*a* (legal style).[4]

3d plur. fem.: לֵיהֱוֵין ʿEr. 4*a;* לֵיהֱוֶוְן Alf. Sabb. 65*a*.

2d plur. masc.: תֵּיהֱווּ M. MS. Sanh. 39*a*.

2d plur. fem.: תֵּהֱוֵי Sabb. 140*b*.

1st plur. com.: לֵיהֱווּ Sanh. 39*a;* לֵיהֱוֵי M. MS. *ibid.* (§232*a*).

IMPERATIVE.—§593. הֱוֵי *be thou*, Macc. 11*a*, Ber. 63*a;* הֱווּ *be ye*, Sanh. 39*a*.[5]

INFINITIVE.—§594. מֵיהֱוֵי Macc. 12*b;* מיחוי read מֵיחֱוֵי O. MS. Sabb. 145*b;* מֵיהֱוֶה ʿEn Y. Yômâ 21*b;* מְיחְיֵיא Yeb. 120*b*.[6]

ACTIVE PARTICIPLE.—§595. חָוֵי Ned. 3*b;* חֵיֵי B. M. 107*b*.—חָוְיָא Ber. 49*a*.—חָוְיִין *ibid.* 9*b;* חָוְיָן Ker. 5*a;* חָוְיָאן C. MS. Zeb. 53*a*.—חָוְיָנָא M. Q. 25*a;* חֵיֵינָא Taan. 25*a;* חָוְיָאנָא Alf. B. B. 40*b;* חָוְיָתוּ Ber. 48*a*.

APHʿĒL.—§596. אַחְיֵא *he resurrected*, Sanh. 47*a;* אַחְוֵי מַחְיֵי *he makes alive*, Pes. 68*a*.

B. VERBS נדא AND נטא.[7]

APHʿĒL.—§597. אַדֵי *he sprinkled*, Zeb. 42*b;* מַדֵי *he sprinkles*, *ibid.;* מַדּוּ Yômâ 19*a;* מַטּוּ R. H. 12*a*.

[1] On יְהֵא and תְּהֵא *cf.* §8, n. 4.

[2] לֵיהֲוֵי *HG.* 44; נֵיהֵי *ibid.* 71.

[3] According to *Hal. Pes.* ed. Schlossberg, p. 102, the Palestineans write תֶּהֱוֵויתִין; *cf.* §233.

[4] נֵיהוֹן *HG.* 415; לֵיהֱוֹוֹן *ibid.* 386; נֵיהֱוֹוֹן *HG.* ed. pr. 102*a*.

[5] הֲוָאי *HG.* 396 (*f.*).

[6] לְמֵיהֲוֶה *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §69; לְמֵיהֲוֶה *ibid.* §74.

[7] Of verbs פ״ן and ל״ה only these two assimilate the first stem-consonant.

C. Verbs יצא, ימא, ירא.[1]

Qal.—§598. יְמַיְּנִין *they swear*, ʿArûkh Pes. 113*b*.

Aph'ēl.—§599. אוֹדַיִי *he confessed*, Sanh. 30*b*; אוֹרֵי *he taught*, Ber. 11*b*; אוֹרֵי *I taught*, Ḥull. 52*a*; אוֹדוּ *they confessed*, Ned. 81*a*; לְוַדֵּי Šebu. 42*b*; אוֹדִי *confess thou*, Sabb. 125*a*; אוֹדוֹיֵי Yeb. 62*a*; אוֹרוֹיֵי Taan. 26*b*; מוֹדְיָא Keth. 85*a*; מוֹרְיָא Ḥull. 6*b*; מוֹדוּ Ned. 46*a*; מְמַיְּאָן *they swear*, O. MS. Pes. 113*b*; מוֹמְאָן ʿEn Y. *ibid.*; מַיְּמָן 2 M. MS. *ibid.*; מוֹרָן C. MS. Pes. 102; מוֹדֵינָא B. B. 76*a*; מוֹדֵיתוּ Yeb. 62*a*; מוֹדֵיתוּ Sabb. 57*b*.[2]

D. Verbs אדא, אכא, אפא, ארא, and אתא.

§600. These verbs combine the peculiarities of verbs פ״א (§409*sq*.) and of verbs ל״ה (§531*sq*). Only the Aph'ēl of אתא differs from that of other פ״א verbs by passing into the פ״י class instead of into that of פ״ו. The resulting diphthong *aị* is at times contracted to *ê*, at other times to *â*.

EXAMPLES FOR QAL.

Perfect.—§601. *3d sing. masc.*: אָתָא Ned. 7*b*.[3]

3d sing. fem.: אָתְיָא Ned. 50*b*, Taan. 24*a*; אָתָאָה Alf. Keth. 65*a*; אָתָאי M. Q. 16*a*, B. M. 65*a*; אָתַת Ned. 50*a*, 51*a*, 66*b*; אִיתְיְתָא ʿEn Y. Succ. 51*b* (!); אָתַיְת *MM.* Qidd. 81*b*.

2d sing. com.: אָתֵית Ber. 15*a*, Macc. 13*b*; אָתַת Keth. 65*a*.[4]

1st sing. com.: אָתֵיתִי Tām. 32*ab*, Succ. 44*b*, Sabb. 116*b*, Pes. 110*b*; אָתֵית M. MS. Pes. 110*b*; אָתַאי Sabb. 140*a*.

3d plur. masc.: אָתוּ Ned. 9*b*, Sanh. 96*a*.

3d plur. fem.: אָתַיְן Meg. 27*b*, Taan. 24*b*; אָתַאי Qidd. 81*a*.[5]

2d plur. masc.: אָתֵיתוּ Macc. 6*a*; אָתֵיתוּן M. MS. Sanh. 95*a*.

1st plur. com.: אָתֵינָן M. Q. 25*a*; אָרֵינָן ʿArûkh B. Q. 30*b*; אָתַן C. MS. M. Q. 25*a*; אָתַאן or אָתַאן M. MS. Ber. 6*a*, *ibid.* 39*a*.

Imperfect.—§602. *3d sing. masc.*: לֵיתֵי Taan. 24*b*; יֵיתֵי Gitt. 29*b*.[6]

3d sing. fem.: תֵּיתֵי Keth. 85*a*.

[1] *Cf.* §§427*sq*., 531*sq*.

[2] אוֹדַיִי or אוֹדֵי *to confess*, *HG.* ed. pr. 40*a*.

[3] אָתָא *SM.* No. LXXII. (voc.).

[4] אָתֵיתָא *SM.* No. V. *a* (voc.).

[5] אָתַאי *they came*, *HG.* ed. pr. 118*a*, 130*c*.

[6] יֵיתֵי *SM.* No. XXVIII. (voc.).

1st sing. com.: אֵיתֵינָא Keth. 65*a* (§232*a*); אֵיתֵי Sabb. 41*a*.
3d plur. masc.: לֵיתוּ Ber. 28*a*; נֵיתוּ *ibid.* 53*a*.
2d plur. masc.: תֵּיתוּן B. B. 130*b*.
1st plur. com.: נֵיתֵי Taan. 25*a*; נֵיתוּ *ibid.* (§233).

Imperative.—§603. *Sing. masc.:* אֲפֵי *bake thou*, B. M. 81*a*; אֵיתָא M. Q. 28*a*; תָּא Ned. 11*b*, 51*a*, with retention of original final א.

Sing. fem.: תָּאִי or תָּאֵי ʿEr. 53*b*.
Plur. masc.: אֲתוּ Ber. 25*a*; אִיתוּ M. MS. B. B. 29*a*; תּוּ B. B. 21*b*.

Infinitive.—§604. *a*) miqtal: לְמֵיפָא Pes. 48*b*; לְמֵיתָא B. B. 145*b*; לְמֵיתֵי Ber. 28*b*, Yômâ 77*b*; מֵיתֵי Yeb. 115*a* (§80); (לְמוֹפֵיהּ *to bake it*, Alfâsî A. Z. 65*b*).

b) qŭtŭlê: לַאֲפוֹיֵי Alf. B. B. 13*b*; אַדּוֹיֵי B. Q. 22*a*, Bêçā 39*a*.[1]

Active Participle.—§605. *Sing. masc.:* אָפֵי Men. 94*a*; אָרֵי Keth. 16*a*; אָתֵי Ned. 9*b*, 25*a*; אַתֵּי C. MS. Meg. 12*b* (voc.).

Sing. fem.: אָתְיָא Ned. 4*b*, 50*b*.
Plur. masc.: אָתוּ B. Q. 113*a*, Ker. 23*b*; אָתַן *TF.* Ker. 24*a*.
Plur. fem.: אָתְיָן Ned. 3*b*; אָפְיָן Ber. 58*b*; אָתְאָן Ker. 26*a*; אָתָן *TF. ibid.*

Participles with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.—§606. אָפֵינָא B. M. 81*a*; אָתֵינָא Ber. 20*a*, Qidd. 96*b*; אָתֵינָן Ber. 16*b*; אָתֵיתוּ B. M. 109*a*.

examples for pa"ēl.

Infinitive.—§607. לְאַסָּאָה Sabb. 67*a*, Ned. 49*a*; אַסּוּיֵי B. Q. 86*a*; (לְאַסָּיוּהַּ Ned. 49*a*; לְאַסָּיֵיהּ eds. *ibid.*).

Participles.—§608. בַּסֵּי Sanh. 107*b*, Sabb. 111*a*; בָּסוּ Sabb. 78*a*; מַסְיָן Gitt. 56*b*.—מְסִינָא *I heal*, B. Q. 85*a*.

examples for aph'ēl.

Perfect.—§609. *3d sing. masc.:* אַיְתִי Ber. 8*b*, Ned. 25*a*; אֵיתֵי C. MS. Pes. 88*b*, 89*a*.

3d sing. fem.: אַיְתָא, אַיְתָה, Nidd. 20*b*; אַיְתַת Alf. Ned. 91*b*, M. MS. Sabb. 64*a*; אָתְיָא Ned. 91*a*, Keth. 67*b*; אַיְתִיאַת ʿEn Y. Ned. 66*b*; אִיתְיַאת Alf. Ned. 91*b*; אִיתְיַת *MM.* Taan. 24*b*.[2]

2d sing. com.: אַיְתִית A. Z. 14*b*; אַיְתַת Gitt. 52*b*.

[1] מֵיתָא *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §234.

[2] אִיתָאי *HG.* 300; אָתְיַאת *HG.* ed. pr. 63*a*; אַיְתִיַּת *ibid.* 69*a*.

1st sing. com.: אַיְיתִית Qidd. 72*b*; אֲתִיתִי ʿEn Y. Meg. 27*b*; אֲתַאי Meg. 27*b*, Meʿîlā 20*b*, Ker. 20*b*.

3d plur. masc.: אַיְיתוּ Taan. 25*a*, Ned. 49*b*; אִיתְיאוּ ʿEn Y. Ned. 50*b*; אַיְיתְיאוּ M. MS. Ber. 31*b*, ʿEn Y. Sanh. 101*a*, eds. אַיְיתֵי; אַיְירֵי Ned. 2*b*.[1]

1st plur. com.: אַיְיתִינָא Keth. 103*b*, Pes. 107*b*; אִיתִינָא Pes. 107*b*; אֲתִינָא Taan. 24*a*; אַיְיתִינָן M. MS. Pes. 107*b*; אַיְירִינָן B. Q. 16*a*, 30*b*.[2]

Imperfect.—§610. *3d sing. masc.:* לַיְיתֵי Sabb. 134*a*; נַיְיתֵי Ker. 5*a*; נֵיתֵי *TF. ibid.*; לֵיתֵי Pes. 88*b*.

3d sing. fem.: תֵּיתֵי Taan. 25*a*.

2d sing. com.: תַּיְיתֵי M. MS. B. Q. 113*b*.

1st sing. com.: אַיְיתֵי Ned. 54*b*, B. M. 67*b*, Sanh. 96*a*.

3d plur. masc.: לַיְיתוּ, לֵיתוּ, Sabb. 134*a*; לַיְיתוּ Gitt. 67*b*; נַיְיתוּ Pes. 88*b*; נֵיתוּ Yeb. 9*a*, M. MS. Pes. 27*a*; נֵיתוּן C. MS. Pes. 88*b*.

3d plur. fem.: לַיְיתָן ʿEn Y. Taan. 24*b*; נֵיתָן Pes. 27*a*.

2d plur. masc.: תֵּיתוּ Sabb. 96*b*.

Imperative.—§611. *Sing. masc.:* אַיְיתֵי Ber. 22*b*, 44*b*, B. Q. 113*b*, Sanh. 96*a*; אֵיתֵי *TF.* Ker. 18*a*.[3]

Sing. fem.: אַיְיתִי Ned. 66*b*.

Plur. masc.: אַיְיתוּ Bekh. 8*b*; אַיְיתֵי Ned. 50*a*.

Infinitive.—§612. *a*) ʾaqtûlê: אַיְיתוֹרֵי M. Q. 11*a*; לְאֵיתוֹרֵי Ned. 48*b*, 50*b*, 89*a*; לְאָתוֹרֵי Ned. 48*b*, 55*a*.[4]

b) ʾaqtâlâ: אַיְיתָאָה Sôtā 33*b*.

c) maqtûl: לְמֵיתוֹ ʿEn Y. Taan. 24*b*, with omission of last stem-consonant.

d) maqtal: מַיְיתֵי Keth. 65*a*.[5]

Active Participle.—§613. *Sing. masc.:* מַיְיתָא Sabb. 66*b*; מֵיתֵי *TF.* Ker. 5*a*, 24*a*; מַיְיתֵי Ned. 64*b*, Ker. 5*a*.

Sing. fem.: מַיְיתָא Gitt. 5*b*; מָתְיָא Ned. 81*a*.[6]

Plur. masc.: מַיְיתִין M. MS. Hôr. 3*a*; מַיְיתוּ Yeb. 9*a*; מַיְיתֵי Gitt. 56*a*; מֵיתוּ *TF.* Ker. 23*a*.[7]

[1] אֵיתִיוּ *HG.* 405; אַיְירִיוּ *ibid.* 541.

[2] אֵיתוּתוּן *ye brought*, *HG.* 464 (§232*a*).

[3] *Cf.* לָא אַיְיתֵי *bring not*, B. Q. 113*b*. *Cf.* §30, n.

[4] The traditional pronunciation is לַאֲתוֹרֵי.

[5] לְאַיְיתוֹ *HG.* 102. [6] מָטְיָא (= מָתְיָא) *HG.* 219. [7] מָתֵי *HG.* 404.

Plur. fem.: מָתְיָן B. M. 106*a*, Ker. 7*b*.

PARTICIPLE WITH ENCLITIC SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—§614. *a*) מַיְיתֵינָא Qidd. 60*b*.[1]—*b*) מַיְיתִית Ber. 44*b;* מַיְיתַת ed. Ven. *ibid.*, *MM.* B. M. 84*b*.—*c*) מַיְיתִינָן Nidd. 20*b*.[2]

EXAMPLES FOR ITHPA"AL.

§615. PERFECT.—*3d sing. masc.:* אִיתַּסִּי Sabb. 33*a*.

3d sing. fem.: אִיתַּסְיָא Gitt. 69*b;* אִיתַּסִּיאַת Keth. 62*b*.

1st sing. com.: אִיתַּסַּאי Yômâ 84*a;* אִתַּסַּאי B. M. 85*b;* אִיתַּסִּי M. MS. *ibid.*

3d plur. masc.: אִיתַּסּוּ Ḥag. 3*a*.

INFINITIVE.—אִיתַּסּוֹרֵי Gitt. 12*b*.

PARTICIPLE.—מִתַּסִּי Ned. 50*b*.—מִתַּסִּינָן A. Z. 27*a*.

RARE CONJUGATIONS.

§616. These conjugations contain rare forms of the tri-consonantal verb and quadri-consonantals. The latter fall into three groups: *a*) Tri-consonantal stems with a formative element; *b*) tri-consonantal stems with duplication of third consonant, or bi-consonantal stems with duplication of entire stem; *c*) denominative and foreign quadri-consonantal verbs. The formative element of the first group may be either prefixed in front of the stem, or infixed after the first or the second stem-consonant.

§617. *Prefixed Stems.*—Some stems are prefixed by ה, שׁ, ס, נ, or ת. The first three are old causative forms; the last two, although having an active force, are derived from reflexive stems.

§618. *Infixed Stems.*—The infix after the first stem-consonant is either נ, ר, or שׁ, about which see §45. The infix after the second stem-consonant is ת, which is probably of reflexive origin.

§619. *Duplicated Stems.*—About the formation of stems with duplicated third stem-consonant, *cf.* Barth, *Nominalbildung*, §141. Duplicated bi-consonantal stems appear sometimes also in a simpler form as ע"ו; as נמנם, חלחל, שפשף; or as ע"ע; as בלבל, דלדל, גלגל, and others. Parpēl forms are sometimes dissimilated Palpēl stems (§53). Once we find a tri-consonantal stem with duplication of the first stem-consonant (§637).

[1] מֵיתְנָא *HG.* 473.

[2] מָתַיְינָן *HG.* 526, 527.

Rare Conjugations.

	ACTIVE.	PASSIVE.
PERFECT—		
Sing. 3d masc.	בַּלְבֵּיל	אִיבַּלְבַּל
3d fem.	——	אִיבַּלְבְּלָא
2d masc.	בַּלְבֵּילְתְּ	אִיבַּלְבַּלְתְּ
1st com.	בַּלְבֵּילִי	אִיבַּלְבַּלִי
Plur. 3d masc.	בַּלְבִּילוּ, בַּלְבּוּל	אִיבַּלְבּוּ, אִיבַּלְבּוּל
3d fem.	——	אִיבַּלְבָּלָן
1st com.	בַּלְבֵּילְנָא, בַּלְבְּלַן	אִיבַּלְבִּילָן
IMPERFECT—		
Sing. 3d masc.	לְיבַלְבֵּיל, לְבַ֫	לְיבַּלְבַּל, (בְּ)
3d fem.	תְּבַלְבֵּיל	תְּיבַּלְבַּל, (בְּ)
2d masc.	תְּבַלְבֵּיל	תְּיבַּלְבַּל, (בְּ)
1st com.	אֲבַלְבֵּיל	——
Plur. 3d masc.	לְיבַלְבְּלוּ	לְיבַּלְבְּלוּ
1st com.	נְבַלְבֵּיל	——
IMPERATIVE—		
Sing. 2d masc.	בַּלְבֵּיל	——
Plur. 2d masc.	בַּלְבִּילוּ	——
INFINITIVE	בַּלְבּוֹלֵי	אִיבַּלְבּוֹלֵי
PARTICIPLE—		
Active, sing. masc.	מְבַלְבֵּיל	
fem.	מְבַלְבְּלָא	
Passive, sing. masc.	מְבַלְבַּל	מְיבַּלְבַּל
fem.	מְבַלְבְּלָא	מְיבַּלְבְּלָא

Pô'ēl.—§620. Here belong three verbs סוֹבַר with its graphical variant סוֹכַר *to cup*, צוֹוַח *to cry*, and זוֹטַר *to be small* (§§51, 56). סוֹבַר appears in Syriac as ܣܘܼܒܰܪ and has a variant סַבַּר (*cf.* 'Arûkh *s. v.* סבר iv). זוֹטַר belongs originally to §636 and appears in Syriac as ܙܘܼܛܰܪ.

Perfect.—צוֹוַח Nidd. 42*b*; צוֹוִיחַ B. M. 29*b*; זוֹטַרְתְּ Qidd. 12*b*.

Infinitive.—לְסִיבּוֹרֵי or לְסִיבּוֹרֵי A. Z. 29*a*. This form may be Pô'ēl with dissimilation of first vowel; it may be Paʾ'ēl or Pa''ēl

Participle.—מְסוֹכְרִי Ned. 54*b*; (מְסוֹכְרִינָן Yeb. 72*a*; זוֹטְרִינָן H. MS. B. Q. 92*a*).[1]

Ithpô'ēl.—§621. *Perfect.*—אִיזּוֹטַר *it seemed of little value*, Sanh. 95*a*; אִדְזּוֹטַר 'En Y. *ibid.* (§51).

Participle.—מִתְזּוֹטְרָא Ned. 50*b*.

Ithpôlēl.[2]—§622. *Perfect.*—אִיתְבּוֹגַג *I was languid*, M. MS. A. Z. 70*b*.

Imperfect.—תִּתְנוֹפְפִי *thou shakest thyself*, 'Arûkh Yeb. 63*a*.

Participle.—מִתְבּוֹגַג M. MS. A. Z. 70*b*.

Haph'ēl.—§623. *Perfect.*—(הֵימִינֵיהּ *he believed him*, B. Q. 115*a*); הֵימְנִי *I believed*, B. B. 73*b*; (הוֹדַעְתִּינְהוּ *I informed them*, Sanh. 107*a*; הֵימְנִינְהוּ Pes. 4*b*; נֵיהֵימְנִינְהוּ M. MS. *ibid.*).

Imperfect.—(לְהֵימְנִינְהוּ Pes. 4*b*; נֵיהֵימְנִינְהוּ M. MS. *ibid.*).

Active Participle.—מְהֵימַן B. B. 176*b*;[3] מְהֵימְנָן Alfâsî *ibid.*; (מְהֵימְנָא *I trust*, B. M. 86*a*; מְהֵימְנִינָא B. B. 170*a*; מְהֵימְנִינָן B. Q. 112*b*).

Passive Participle.—מְהֵימַן B. M. 36*b*, B. B. 159*a*, Keth. 27*b*, A. Z. 17*b*; מְהֵימְנָא Gitt. 3*a*; מְהֵימְנִי B. B. 159*a*; (מְהֵימְנָתָא B. M. 36*b*).[4]

Infinitive.—הֵימוֹנֵי Gitt. 29*b*, B. Q. 115*a*, A. Z. 17*b*.[5]

[1] For participles of passive stems *cf.* §189.—מְסִירְבִיל *bears*, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §550.

[2] On the formation of the form *cf.* Barth in *Semitic Studies in honor of Dr. Kohut*, pp. 83–93.

[3] The *a* is due to the influence of the following nasal.

[4] הֵימָן is an old loan-word found also in Arabic and in the other Aramaic dialects. *Cf.* Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, p. 121, note.

[5] הוֹרַחְתּוּן *Hal. Pes.* §73; מְהֵימְנָאנָא *HG.* 410; הַנְפֵּק, denominative of הֲנָפֵק, is frequently found in later literature; הַיְרִיתוּ *HG.* 71; לְהַזְמוֹנֵי *ibid.* 61; לְהַקְבּוֹלֵי *ibid.* 153; לְהַנְפִּישׁ *Igg. Sherirâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 24; מְהַנְפְּשִׁין *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §186; מְהַנְפְּקִינוּן *TG.* ed. Cassel, §91.

ITHHAPH'AL.—§624. *Imperfect.*—לִיתְחַיְּמָן Sôtā 2*b*.[1]

ITTAPH'AL.[2]—§625. אִיתְּחִיב *became composed*, Sabb. 52*a*; אִיתְּחִי *remained*, Pes. 83*b*; אִיתְּסַף *was added*, Qidd. 77*b*; אִיתְּחִיב *was refuted*, Sabb. 40*a*, 50*a*; אִיתְּקַשׁ *was compared*, Pes. 61*a*, Šebu. 13*b*; אִיתְּקִישׁ *ibid.*, Sabb. 83*b*, Qidd. 34*a*; אִיתְּקוּשׁ Sanh. 63*a*; אִיתְּצַל *was saved*, Ber. 54*a*; אִיתְּצִיל Sôtā 46*b*.—אִיתְּסְפָא Yeb. 57*a*.—אִיתַּצְלְתָּ A. Z. 18*b*; אִיתְּזְקָתָּ Ber. 9*b*.—אִיתְּזַק *ibid.*—אִיתְּסְפוּ (*sic*) *ibid.* 28*a*; אִיתְּקוּשׁ Šebu. 8*b*.—נִיתְּדַע *TF.* Ker. 25*a*.[3]—לִיתְּסְפוּ M. MS. 'Er. 54*b*.—אִיתְּקוּשִׁי Sanh. 63*a*, Šebu. 8*b*.—מִיתְּדַע *TF.* Ker. 18*b*, 22*b*; מְתַּדַע *ibid.* 25*b*;[3] מִיתְּסַר Ned. 17*a*; מְתּוֹגַר *is hired*, M. MS. B. M. 65*a*; מְתּוֹקַם Yôm. 2*b*; מְתַּצִּיל Gitt. 70*b*.—מִיתְּסְפָא Yeb. 57*a*; מִיתּוֹקְמָא Nidd. 18*a*, B. B. 82*a*—מִיתְּזְקִי Qidd. 29*b*.—מִיתַּצְלְתָּ A. Z. 18*a*; מִיתַּצְלִינָן V. L. Sanh. 93*a*.[4]

ŠAPH'ĒL.—§626. *Perfect.*—שֵׁזִיב *he rescued*, Ber. 60*a*; שֵׁחְרֵר *he manumitted, ibid.* 47*b*; שֵׁעְבֵּיד B. M. 13*a*, B. B. 176*a*; (שֵׁסְתְּמֵיהּ *he enclosed him*, 'Arûkh Gitt. 68*a*); שֵׁיזְבֵיהּ Yeb. 114*b*; שַׁעְבְּדָנָא Gitt. 13*b*; שֵׁעְבְּדִי A. Z. 2*b*; שֵׁעְבְּדָן M. MS. *ibid.*

Imperfect.—(לִישַׁלְחוֹפֵינְהוּ Sabb. 98*b*.)

Infinitive.—שֵׁלְחוּפֵי B. M. 25*a*, B. B. 99*a*; שֵׁיעְבּוּדֵי Gitt. 49*b*, Sanh. 106*a*; שַׁעְבְּדָה 'Ar. 23*b*; (לְשֵׁיזָבֵיהּ *to rescue him*, B. M. 86*b*; לְשֵׁיזָבוּתֵיהּ F. MS. *ibid.*).[5]

Active Participle.—מְשַׁעְבֵּד Gitt. 49*b*; מְשַׁעְבְּדָא Qidd. 7*a*; מְשַׁעְבְּדֵי Sanh. 106*a*.

Passive Participle.—מְשַׁעְבְּדָא B. M. 73*b*; מְשַׁעְבְּדֵי B. B. 69*b*; מְשֻׁלְחֵי B. B. 99*a*, B. M. 25*a*; שַׁלְחֵי Ber. 6*b*; מְשֻׁלְחֵי M. MS. *ibid.*

IŠTAPH'AL. — § 627. *Perfect.* — אִשְׁתְּעַבְּדוּ A. Z. 2*b*, 8*b*; אִישְׁתְּעַבְּדוּ 'En Y. A. Z. 2*b*; אִשְׁתְּעַבְּדִי Bekh. 48*b*; אִישְׁתְּעַבּוּד 'Ar. 20*b*; אִשְׁתְּחִיוּ Yeb. 97*b*; אִשְׁתְּעַבְּדָן Bekh. 48*a*; אִשְׁתְּעַבְּדִינָן 'En Y. A. Z. 2*b*.

[1] אִיתְּחַנָּק *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 64.

[2] Here belong the following verbs: אגר, ידע, יסף, יתב, יתר, נזק, נצל, נסך, קרם, תוב.

[3] By analogy with פ"נ.

[4] מִיתַּצְלָנָן *SM.* No. XXVIII.

[5] לְשֵׁיזָבָא *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 388.

Imperfect.—לִישְׁתַּעְבִּיד B. M. 73*b*; תִּשְׁתַּעְבִּיד Gitt. 39*b*.

Infinitive.—אִישְׁתַּעְבּוּדֵי Gitt. 38*a*.

Participle.—מִשְׁתַּעְבֵּד B. Q. 20*b*, Gitt. 49*b*; מְשִׁתַּעְבִּיד B. B. 157*a*; מְשִׁתַּעְבְּדָא *ibid.* 44*b*; מְשִׁתַּעְבְּדִי *ibid.*; מְשִׁתַּעְבְּדָאֵי Bekh. 48*b* (with nominal ending).—מְשִׁתַּעְבְּדָנָא B. Q. 20*b*, Pes. 31*a*.

NOTE.—Here belongs the denominative אִשְׁתְּמוֹדַע *to identify*. אִשְׁתְּמוֹדְעָנָא Keth. 104*b*. Only in legal style.

SAPH'ĒL.—§628. *Participle.*—מְסַרְהֵב *hastens*, Ber. 47*a*; (מְסַרְהֵיבְנָא Ḥull. 7*b*).

TAPH'ĒL.—§629. *Perfect.*—תַּפְּשַׁח *he chopped off*, 'Arûkh M. Q. 10*b*, B. B. 54*a*; (תַּרְגְּמָא *he explained it*, Ber. 19*b*; תַּרְגּוֹמָה ed. Ven. *ibid. id.*); תַּרְגִּימוּ Ned. 38*b*, Pes. 42*b*; (תַּרְגּוּמָא *they explained it*, B. B. 69*a*); תַּרְגִּימְנָא Qidd. 48*b*; (תַּרְגִּימְנָה *we explained it*, B. B. 107*b*; תַּרְגִּימְנָא *id.* Sanh. 8*b*).

Imperfect.—תְּתַרְגֵּם Gitt. 41*a*; תֵּיתַרְגֵּם B. B. 77*b*, 78*b*.

Infinitive.—לְתַרְבּוֹצֵי *to sprinkle*, M. Q. 6*b*; טַטְרוֹגֵי *to molest*, 'Er. 61*a*; (for תַּטְרוֹגֵי by assimilation).

Active Participle.—מְתַרְגֵּם Pes. 68*a*; מְטַטְרְגֵי 'Er. 61*a*; מַטְרְגֵי M. MS. *ibid.*; מְתַרְגְּמִינָן Nidd. 31*b*, Sabb. 10*b*).

NAPH'ĒL.[1]—§630. *Imperfect.*—לִינַּשְׁתִּין *makes water*, Sabb 134*a*.

Active Participle.—[מְנַשְׁתֵּיהּ Sabb. 134*a* (§58)]; מְנַשְׁתִּין M. MS. *ibid.*; מְנַשְׁתֵּם 'Arûkh *ibid.* (§35).

PAR'ĒL.—§631. *Perfect.*—שַׁרְבִּיב 'Er. 102*b*; (הַרְזְקֵיהּ *he locked him up*, 'Arûkh B. Q. 85*b*).

Imperfect.—נִיגַּדְבֵּל Gitt. 69*a*; נְגַרְבֵּל 'Arûkh *ibid.*; (לְבַרְזוֹלֵיהּ Sabb. 66*b*).

Imperative.—שַׁרְבִּיבוּ Sabb. 147*b*.

Active Participle.—מְשַׁרְבְּטִי Sabb. 94*a*.

Passive Participle.—מְיֻהָרְזָק 'Arûkh Ned. 91*b*.

[1] *Cf.* Assyrian nâbutu, *naprašu, *naplašu (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 234), and Arabic نَبْذَرَ = بَذَرَ II., نَخْرَبَ = خَرَبَ I. II., نَخْسَسَ = خَسَّ IV., نَقْرَدَ = قَرَدَ IV., نَهْبَلَ = هَبَلَ II., نَهْتَرَ = هتر III. IV., نَـهْـرَجَ = هَـرَجَ I. II., نَـهَـسَ, نَهْسَرَ = هَسَّ I. *Cf.* also نَقْتَلَ and the noun قِتْوَال.

ITHPAʿAL.—§632. *Perfect.*—אִיגַּרְדַּם *was lopped off*, Men. 38*b*; אִשְׁתַּרְבַּב Sanh. 24*a*; אִיגַּרְדּוּם Men. 39*a*; אִיגַּרְדְּמוּ Alfâsî *ibid.*; אִישְׁתַּרְבּוּב ʿEn Y. Qidd. 49*b*.

Infinitive.—אִישְׁתַּרְבּוֹבֵי Sanh. 24*a*; אִיגַּרְדּוֹמֵי Men. 38*b*, 39*a*; אִיגַּרְדָּמֵי Alfâsî Men. 39*a*.

Participle.—מְהַרְהֵז Ned. 91*b*.

PAN'ĒL.—§633. *Imperfect.*—נִיגַּנְדַּר *let him roll*, A. Z. 28*a*; (נִיגַּנְדְּרֵיהּ Gitt. 69*b*).

ITHPAN'AL.—§634. *Perfect.*—אִיגַּנְדַּר ʿArûkh Gitt. 77*b*.

Infinitive.—אִיגַּנְדַּר B. Q. 35*a*; אִיגַּנְדּוֹרֵי M. MS. *ibid.*

Participle.—מְגַנְדַּר B. Q. 35*a*; מְגַנְדְּרָא *she lords it*, Taan. 23*b*.

PAŠ'ĒL.—§635. *Perfect.*—(בַּשְׁקְרוּהָ *they discovered it*, Yeb. 120*a*).

Passive Participle.—מְבַשְׁקַר ʿEr. 19*a*.

PA'TĒL AND ITHPA'TAL.—§636. *Participle.*—מְנַשְׁתְּפָא ʿArûkh B. M. 23*a*; מִינַּשְׁתְּפָא eds. *ibid.*[1]

PA'PĒL.—§637. *Perfect.*—דַּרְדֵּיג *he dripped*, Keth. 17*b*.

Infinitive.—דַּרְדּוֹגֵי *ibid.*

PA'LĒL.—§638. *Perfect.*—שִׂרְטֵט *he drew lines*, Gitt. 7*a*.

Participle.—מְשַׂרְטֵט Yeb. 106*b*; מְמָרְטֵט Ḥull. 92*b*.

ITHPA'LAL.—§639. *Perfect.*—אִימָּרְטַט *was depilated*, A. Z. 69*a*, Nidd. 56*b*; אִיעָרְבַב *became confused*, R. H. 16*b*.

Imperfect.—לִיעָרְבַב R. H. 27*a*, 28*a*; לִיעָרְבּוּ A. Z. 2*b*.

Infinitive.—אִימָּרְטוּטֵי A. Z. 69*a*.

Participle.—מִיעָרְבַב R. H. 28*a*; מְיִמָּרְטַט ʿArûkh Nidd. 56*b*.

PALPĒL.—§640. *Perfect.*—זַלְזֵיל Keth. 48*a*; עָרְעַר *he took exception*, B. B. 29*b*; הָרְהַר *he meditated*, Ber. 56*a*; נִיעְנַם A. Z. 4*b*, Qidd. 31*b*; שִׁיכְשֵׁךְ *he rinsed*, A. Z. 57*b*; שִׁכְשֵׁיכִי *I rinsed*, Zeb. 94*a*; הָרְהְרוּ Sanh. 37*a*; צִיעְצְעוּ Yeb. 46*a* (with loss of stem-vowel).

Imperfect.—לִישַׁלְטֵל, נִישַׁלְטֵל, ʿEr. 24*b*, Succā 24*b*; לִישַׁכְשֵׁךְ A. Z. 59*b*; תְּזַלְזֵל Ḥag. 5*b*; לִיזַלְזְלוּ Yômâ 2*b*; נְעָרְעַר Gitt. 4*b*.

Imperative.—טָאטֵי *sweep*, Meg. 18*a*, R. H. 26*a*.

Infinitive.—*a*) לְזַלְזּוֹלֵי C. MS. Meg. (voc.); לְהָרְהוֹרֵי Nidd. 13*a*; לְשַׁלְטוֹלֵי Succ. 44*b*; לְכַסְכּוֹסֵי Sabb. 140*a*; לְקַשְׁקוֹשֵׁי *ibid.*

[1] Here belonged originally also זוֹטַר. *Cf.* §620.

45*a*; חַלְחוֹלֵי Ḥull. 119*b*; מַסְמוֹסֵי *ibid.* 4*a*; עֲרָעוֹרֵי Gitt. 4*a*; פַּסְפּוֹסֵי Sabb. 155*a*.

b) טִילְטוֹלֵי ʿEr. 24*b*.

c) לְזִילְזוֹלָא A. Z. 35*a*.

d) שִׁירְשׁוֹרָהּ A. Z. 57*b* (used as finite verb).[1]

Active Participle.—*a*) מְשַׁלְשֵׁל Sabb. 110*a*; מְמַסְמֵס Ḥull. 4*a*; מְבַלְבֵּל *ibid.* 69*a*; מְשַׁפְשֵׁף Sabb. 154*b*; מְפַעְפֵּעַ Ḥull. 97*a*; מְגַמְגֵּם Meg. 31*b*; מְעַרְעֵר B. B. 43*b*; מְנַמְנֵם Pes. 120*b*, Sabb. 56*b*; נַמְנֵם Pes. 120*b*.

b) מְמַסְמְסָא Yeb. 42*b*; מְמַשְׁמְשָׁא Ḥull. 9*a*; מְבַצְבְּצָא *ibid.* 46*b*; מְקַלְקְלָא Yeb. 120*a*; מְחַלְחֲלָא Zeb. 94*a*; מְנַמְנָמָה Keth. 17*b*.[2]

c) מְקַשְׁקְשִׁין Succ. 44*b*; מְנַמְנְמִי *ibid.* 53*b*; מְלַבְלְבִי A. Z. 38*b*; מְזַלְזְלִי Men. 52*a*; מְמַשְׁמְשִׁי R. H. 15*a*; מְטַלְטְלוּ Sabb. 128*a*; מְזַלְזְלוּ A. Z. 36*a*; מְהַבְהֲבִי Alf. B. M.

d) מְשַׁלְשְׁלָן *act as laxative*, Gitt. 70*a*, Keth. 10*b*; מְקַרְקְרָן Ḥull. 53*ab*.

Passive Participle.—*a*) מְמַסְמָס Ḥull. 28*a*, 53*b*; מְקַרְקַע B. B. 68*a*;[3] *e.* מְטַלְטְלָא *ibid.*; מְקַרְקְעָא *ibid.* 150*a*.

c) מְחַלְחֲלִי Ber. 59*a*; מְטַלְטְלִי, מְקַרְקְעִי, B. B. 44*b*.

d) מְבַלְבְּלָן *are mixed up*, Bekh. 44*a*.

Participle with Enclitic Subject-Pronouns.—מְנַמְנְמִי *I doze*, O. MS. Pes. 120*b*;[4] מְזַלְזְלִינָן M. Q. 18*a*; מְזַלְזְלִיתְּ B. M. 52*b*, A. Z. 10*b*; מְטַלְטְלִינָן Sabb. 47*a*, 49*a*, 124*a*; מְפַסְפְּסִינָן *ibid.* 155*a*.

ITHPALPAL.—§641. *Perfect.*—אִיבַּלְבַּל B. M. 40*a*, Gitt. 73*a*; אִיהַלְהוּל ʿArûkh, Ḥull. 44*a* (Tos. *ibid.* אִיהַלְהֵל).

Imperfect.—לִישְׁתַּלְשַׁל Sabb. 108*a*; לְבַלְבֵּל M. Q. 9*b*;[5] תִּיקַלְקַל R. H. 19*b*.

Infinitive.—אִיהַלְהוּלֵי Ḥull. 44*a*; לְאִיקַלְקוּלֵי ʿEr. 49*a*; לְקַלְקוּלֵי M. MS. *ibid.*

[1] לְעַרְעוֹר *RLOW.* §101.

[2] This is shortened from מְנַמְנְמָה. *Cf.* מְנַשְּׁתִיהּ for מְנַשְּׁתְנִיהּ (§58).

[3] קרקע (= גַּרְגַּע) is a dissimilated form of *קַרְקַר = Assyr. kakkaru.

[4] Shortened form for מְנַמְנַמְנִי. It is, however, possible that we have here the possessive pronoun for the enclitic; *cf.* §327, n. 3, and §714.

[5] לְבַלְבֵּל *SM.* No. CXLIII. (voc.).

Participle.—מִיקַלְקַל R. H. 19*b*; מִיחַלְחַל F. MS. Ber. 59*b*; מִיקַלְקְלָא ʿEr. 88*b*; מִיבַלְבְּלִי Ḥull. 26*b*; מִישַׁלְטְלִי B. B. 69*a*.[1]

Parpēl.—§642. *Perfect.*—כִּרְכֵּישׁ *he nodded assent*, B. B. 143*a*, ʿEr. 65*b*.

Imperfect.—נְקַרְקֵשׁ A. Z. 12*b*, ʿArûkh Pes. 112*a*.

Imperative.—כִּרְכֵּישׁ Niddā 42*a*.

Infinitive.—כַּרְכּוֹשֵׁי Sabb. 79*b*; קַרְקוֹשֵׁי Ber. 29*b*.

Active Participle.—מְקַרְקֵשׁ A. Z. 60*a*, Keth. 86*a*; מְקַרְקְשָׁא Ber. 62*a*; מְקַרְקְשֵׁי B. B. 156*a*.

Denominative and Foreign Pluriconsonantal Verbs.—Active.—§643. *Perfect.*—פִּירְכֵּס *he twitched*, Gitt. 70*b*; פַּרְכִּיס ʿAr. 7*a*; מַשְׁכֵּן B. M. 72*a*; מַשְׁכֵּן B. M. 68*a*, 73*b*.

Imperfect.—(אֲפַרְזְמִינְהוּ *I will press it out*, ʿArûkh Gitt. 69*a*).

Infinitive.—*a*) פַּרְסוֹמֵי ʿAr. 29*a*, Ber. 14*a*, Pes. 112*a*; פַּרְקוֹדֵי Men. 96*b*; מַשְׁפּוֹנֵי M. MS. B. M. 113*a*.

b) פִּירְפּוֹסֵי ʿAr. 7*a*.

Active Participle.—מְטַרְטֵן Nidd. 14*a*; מַרְבֵּל *sifts*, B. M. 26*b*; מְאַרְבֵּל ʿArûkh *ibid.*; מְפַרְסְמָא Men. 40*a*; מְהַנְהְנֵי B. B. 89*b*; מְהַלְקְטִין Sabb. 156*a*.

Passive Participle.—מְפַרְסְמָא Hôr. 4*a*.

Passive.—§644. *Perfect.*—רְבִיל[ד]‎ Ḥull. 49*a*, for *אִירְבִּיל[ד]‎; אִיפַּרְסְמָא R. H. 24*a*, Hôr. 4*b*.[2]

Imperfect.—לִיפַּרְסֵם Yeb. 101*b*.

Infinitive.—מִירְבַּל (=*מִיאַרְבַּל) Ḥull. 43*a*.

Participle.—מִיפַּרְזַל Gitt. 68*b*; מִיפַּרְקְדָא Men. 96*b*; מִיהַנְהְנִין Ḥull. 43*a*.

VERBS WITH OBJECTIVE SUFFIXES.

A. Verbs not ל״י with Objective Suffixes.

§645. Owing to the lack of vocalization, the changes which the verbal forms undergo before suffixes cannot be exactly determined. Nor is tradition of much help here. The tables of paradigms subjoined here (pp. 166, 167) are calculated to afford some help to the student, but cannot do justice to the great variety of forms, both in the body of the verb, as well as in the suffixes.

[1] מִידַּמְדְּמָן *are moving*, *SM.* No. LIII.

[2] אִיהַנְהְנָן *HG.* ed. pr. 127*c*, for אִירַהְנְהָן.

Strong Verb with Suffixes.

QAL.	1st sing. com.	2d sing. masc.	2d sing. fem.	3d sing. masc.	3d sing fem.
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc...	קַטָלַן	קַטָלָךְ	קַטָלִךְ	קַטָלֵיהּ	קַטָלָהּ
3d fem....	קְטַלָתַן	קְטַלָתָךְ	קְטַלְתִּךְ	קְטַלָתֵיהּ	קְטַלָתָהּ
2d com....	קְטַלְתַּן	——	——	קְטַלְתֵּיהּ	קְטַלְתָּהּ
1st com. ..	——	קְטַלְתָּךְ	קְטַלְתִּיךְ	קְטַלְתֵּיהּ	קְטַלְתָּהּ
Plur. 3d masc...	קַטָלוּן	קַטָלוּךְ	קַטָלוּךְ	קַטָלוּהִי	קַטָלוּהָ
2d masc...	קְטַלְתּוּן	——	——	קְטַלְתּוּהִי	קְטַלְתּוּהָ
1st com. ..	——	קְטַלָנָךְ	קְטַלְנִךְ	קְטַלָנֵיהּ	קְטַלָנָהּ
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc...	לִיקְטָלַן	לִיקְטָלָךְ	לִיקְטְלִךְ	לִיקְטְלֵיהּ	לִיקְטְלָהּ
Plur. 3d masc...	לִיקְטְלוּן	לִיקְטְלוּךְ	לִיקְטְלוּךְ	לִיקְטְלוּהִי	לִיקְטְלוּהָ
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc...	קְטָלַן	——	——	קְטָלֵיהּ	קְטָלָהּ
2d fem....	קַטְלִין	——	——	——	——
Plur. 2d masc...	קְטָלוּן	——	——	קְטָלוּהִי	קְטָלוּהָ
INFINITIVE	מִקְטָלַן	מִקְטָלָךְ	מִקְטָלִךְ	מִקְטָלֵיהּ	מִקְטָלָהּ
PA"ĒL.					
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc...	קַטֵּלַן	קַטֵּלָךְ	קַטֵּלִךְ	קַטֵּלֵיהּ	קַטֵּלָהּ
3d fem....	קַטֵּילַתַן	קַטֵּילָתָךְ	קַטֵּילְתִּךְ	קַטֵּילָתֵיהּ	קַטֵּילָתָהּ
2d com....	קַטֵּילְתַּן	——	——	קַטֵּילְתֵּיהּ	קַטֵּילְתָּהּ
1st com. ..	——	קַטֵּילְתָּךְ	קַטֵּילְתִּיךְ	קַטֵּילְתֵּיהּ	קַטֵּילְתָּהּ
Plur. 3d masc...	קַטְּלוּן	קַטְּלוּךְ	קַטְּלוּךְ	קַטְּלוּהִי	קַטְּלוּהָ
2d masc...	קַטֵּילְתּוּן	——	——	קַטֵּילְתּוּהִי	קַטֵּילְתּוּהָ
1st com. ..	——	קַטֵּילְנָךְ	קַטֵּילְנִךְ	קַטֵּילְנֵיהּ	קַטֵּילְנָהּ
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc...	לִיקַטְּלַן	לִיקַטְּלָךְ	לִיקַטְּלִךְ	לִיקַטְּלֵיהּ	לִיקַטְּלָהּ
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc...	קַטֵּלַן	——	——	קַטֵּלֵיהּ	קַטֵּלָהּ
Plur. 2d masc...	קַטְּלוּן	——	——	קַטְּלוּהִי	קַטְּלוּהָ
INFINITIVE	קַטּוֹלַן	קַטּוֹלָךְ	קַטּוֹלִךְ	קַטּוֹלֵיהּ	קַטּוֹלָהּ

Strong Verb with Suffixes.

QAL.	1st plur. com.	2d plur. masc.	2d plur. fem.	3d plur. masc.	3d plur. fem.
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	קְטָלָנָן	קְטָלְכוּ	קְטָלְכִי	קְטָלוּהוּ	קְטָלוּהִי
3d fem. . . .	קְטָלַתְנָן	קְטָלַתְכוּ	קְטָלַתְכִי	קְטָלַתְהוּ	קְטָלַתְהִי
2d com. . . .	קְטָלְתִּינָן	——	——	קְטָלְתִּיהוּ	קְטָלְתִּיהִי
1st com. . .	——	קְטָלְתִּיכוּ	קְטָלְתִּיכִי	קְטָלְתִּיהוּ	קְטָלְתִּיהִי
Plur. 3d masc. . .	קְטָלוּנָן	קְטָלוּכוּ	קְטָלוּכִי	קְטָלוּהוּ	קְטָלוּהִי
2d masc. . .	קְטָלְתוּנָן	——	——	קְטָלְתוּהוּ	קְטָלְתוּהִי
1st com. . .	——	קְטָלְנוּכוּ	קְטָלְנוּכִי	קְטָלְנוּהוּ	קְטָלְנוּהִי
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיקְטָלֻנָּן	לִיקְטָלְכוּ	לִיקְטָלְכִי	לִיקְטָלֻהוּ	לִיקְטָלֻהִי
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לִיקְטָלוּנָּן	לִיקְטָלוּכוּ	לִיקְטָלוּכִי	לִיקְטָלוּהוּ	לִיקְטָלוּהִי
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc. . .	קַטְּלִינָן	——	——	קַטְּלִיהוּ	קַטְּלִיהִי
2d fem. . . .	קַטְּלִינָּן	——	——	קַטְּלִיהוּ	קַטְּלִיהִי
Plur. 2d masc. . .	קַטְּלוּנָן	——	——	קַטְּלוּהוּ	קַטְּלוּהִי
INFINITIVE	מִיקְטָלִינָן	מִיקְטָלִיכוּ	מִיקְטָלִיכִי	מִיקְטָלִיהוּ	מִיקְטָלִיהִי
PA"ĒL.					
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	קַטְּלִינָן	קַטְּלִיכוּ	קַטְּלִיכִי	קַטְּלִיהוּ	קַטְּלִיהִי
3d fem. . . .	קַטִּילַתְנָן	קַטִּילַתְכוּ	קַטִּילַתְכִי	קַטִּילַתְהוּ	קַטִּילַתְהִי
2d com. . . .	קַטִּילְתִּינָן	——	——	קַטִּילְתִּיהוּ	קַטִּילְתִּיהִי
1st com. . .	——	קַטִּילְתִּיכוּ	קַטִּילְתִּיכִי	קַטִּילְתִּיהוּ	קַטִּילְתִּיהִי
Plur. 3d masc. . .	קַטְּלוּנָן	קַטְּלוּכוּ	קַטְּלוּכִי	קַטְּלוּהוּ	קַטְּלוּהִי
2d masc. . .	קַטִּילְתוּנָן	——	——	קַטִּילְתוּהוּ	קַטִּילְתוּהִי
1st com. . .	——	קַטִּילְנוּכוּ	קַטִּילְנוּכִי	קַטִּילְנוּהוּ	קַטִּילְנוּהִי
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לִיקַטֵּלִינָן	לִיקַטֵּלִיכוּ	לִיקַטֵּלִיכִי	לִיקַטֵּלִיהוּ	לִיקַטֵּלִיהִי
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc. . .	קַטְּלִינָן	——	——	קַטְּלִיהוּ	קַטְּלִיהִי
Plur. 2d masc. . .	קַטְּלוּנָן	——	——	קַטְּלוּהוּ	קַטְּלוּהִי
INFINITIVE	קַטּוֹלִינָן	קַטּוֹלִיכוּ	קַטּוֹלִיכִי	קַטּוֹלִיהוּ	קַטּוֹלִיהִי

§646. The following can be stated with certainty:

1. Verbs ע״ו and ע״ע frequently pass before suffixes into ל״י forms.

2. Forms of the plural ending in [ן]ֵי־ frequently substitute before suffixes for that form the corresponding form of the singular; and this not only before suffixes beginning with a vowel, but also, although less frequently, before suffixes beginning with a consonant.

Such a phenomenon is probably due to various causes. In the first place to a promiscuous use of the genders. Thus, קְטַלְתִּינְהוּ *ye have killed them* and קְטַלַנְהוּ *they have killed them* may come not from the masculine forms קְטַלְתּוּן and קְטַלוּ, but from the obsolete feminine forms קְטַלְתִּין and קְטַלָן; קְטַלִינְהוּ *they killed them*, not from קְטַלוּ, but from its by-form קְטַלִי (§232*a*); אַקְטְלֵיהּ *they had him killed*, from אֶקְטוֹל (§231) with vowel-syncope, as in the infinitive; in a form like כַּסֵּיפְתָּנָן *you have put us to shame*, the syncope of *û* may be due to the accent, just as יַנְקוּתָא, חוּשְׁבָּנָא, שׁוּפְטָנֵי, are traditionally pronounced יַנְקָתָא, חוּשְׁבָּנָא, שׁוּפְטָנֵי, with the accent on the antepenultima.

3. Short vowels are sometimes retained in the verb under the influence of an adjoining ר, guttural, or emphatic consonant; *e.g.*, אַמְרִיתָא *I said it*, לִיפְרוֹקִינָן *he redeems us*.

4. The infinitives ending in ־ֵי or ־ָא lose this ending before suffixes. In the infinitives of the derived conjugations the ־וֹ of the second stem-consonant is at times omitted. This is especially the case in the Aphʿēl before plural suffixes.

§647. The list of objective suffixes given above (§112) we let here follow in augmented and improved form:

	Singular.
1st com.	־נִי, ־ַנ, ־ַן, ־ָנ, ־ָן, ־ֶנָּ, ־ֶן, ־ַתַּנ
2d masc.	־ָךְ, ־ָכְ, ־ָךָ, ־ְכָ, ־ֶכָּ, ־ָכָּ
2d fem.	־ִךְ
3d masc.	־ֵהּ, ־ֵיהּ, ־ֶיהָ, ־ֶהָ, ־ֵהָ, ־ֶהָ, ־ֵהּ, ־וֹ ־ֵיהָ, ־ֶיהָ, ־ֶיהָ, ־ֶיהָ, ־ֶיהָ, ־ֶיהָ ־ֵיהּ, [־ֵיהָ, ־ֵי]
3d fem.	־ָהּ, ־ָא, ־ַהּ, ־ָהָא, ־ָתָהּ, ־ָנָהּ, ־ָהָּ

Plural.

1st com....	־ָן, ־ֹון, ־ָנוּ, ־ָנוּן, ־ֵינָא, (־ֵינָן)
2d masc..	־כוּ, ־יכוּ, ־יְכוּ, ־ָכוּ, [־ֵיכוֹן]
2d fem.	־ְיכִי, ־ָכִי
3d masc.	־הוֹן, ־ֵהוּ, ־הוּ, ־יְהוֹן, ־ֵיהוּ, ־ָהוּ, ־ָהוּ
	־ֵיהֵן, ־ָהֵן, ־ֵיהֵן, ־ֵיהוּ, ־ָהוּ, ־ֵיָא, ־ֵיָה
	־ִין, ־ָן, [־ֵיהֵן, ־ֵיהוּ, ־ָהוּ, ־ֵהוּ, ־ֹון, ־ָן]
3d fem.	־הִי, ־ְיהִי, ־ָהִי, ־ָהִי, [־ֵינִין, ־ָנִין, ־ִינִין]

Note.—Instead of objective suffixes we find sometimes possessive suffixes with the verb, and the reverse with the noun. *Cf.* also §113.[1]

Bracketed forms occur only in Gaonic literature.

The traditional pronunciation of the pronominal suffix of the third feminine singular is ־ָהּ, the correctness of which is confirmed by the occurrence of the spelling ־א for ־ה. The vocalization ־ַהּ found in two or three examples in the C. MSS. is to be judged in the same manner as סַאנִי (§558*a*) and similar examples.

PERFECT WITH SUFFIXES.

3d Sing. Masc.

§648. 1st sing. masc.—*Qal:* קָבְעַן R. H. 26*b*; גָּנְבַן Ned. 50*b*; דָּנַן *ibid.*; חַנַּנִי Pes. 110*b* (in an old charm-formula).

Pa"ēl: קָרְחַפְנִי Pes. 110*b* (in an old charm-formula).

Aph'el: אִישְׁתִּיזַן Keth. 104*a*; אוֹתְבַן Pes. 110*a*, B. B. 31*b*; אַקְפַן A. Z. 58*a*.

Ithpe'ēl: אִישְׁתַּמִּיטִין B. Q. 12*a*; אִישְׁתַּמִּיטַתַן eds. *ibid.*

§649. 2d sing. masc.—*Qal:* שַׁבְקָךְ Ned. 50*a*; יַהֲבָךְ Ber. 54*b*; דָּנָךְ Keth. 104*b*.

Pa"ēl: בָּרְכָךְ M. Q. 9*b*.

Aph'ēl: אַזְמִנָךְ Sanh. 109*b*; אַחֲלָךְ Qidd. 52*b*; אַפְסִדִינָךְ B. Q. 89*a*; אַזְקָךְ *ibid.* 36*a*; אַזְמִינָךְ ʿEn Y. Sanh. 109*b*.

§650. 2d sing. fem.—*Qal:* נַשְׁקִיךְ Ḥull. 127*a*.

[1] The enclitic personal pronoun with a verb is probably found in תַּמְהִירְתוּ *I am astonished at you*, Sanh. 95*a*. For other explanations of this word see the dictionaries.

§651. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* קָרְעֵיהּ Ber. 20*a*; שָׁבְקֵיהּ Ned. 62*a*; קָצְיֵיהּ B. B. 60*b*; חָרְקִינֵיהּ Gitt. 46*a*; קָרְעֵנֵיהּ B. B. 169*a*; גָּזְזֵיהּ Sanh. 96*a*; גָּזְזֵיהּ M. MS. *ibid.*; סָרְיֵיהּ R. H. 4*a* (סור ו).

Pa"ēl: חַיְּיבֵיהּ Ned. 31*b*; גַּשְּׁשֵׁיהּ Gitt. 67*b*; נִיפְּדִינֵיהּ ʿArûkh Pes. 52*a*; זַבֵּינְהוּ Keth. 91*a*.[1]

Aph'ēl: אַגְמְרֵיהּ Ned. 41*a*; אֵיתִיבֵיהּ Ned. 35*a*; אַשְׁכְּחֵינֵיהּ Sanh. 118*b*; אוֹתְבִינֵיהּ ʿEr. 30*a*; אַחְרוֹבֵיהּ Sanh. 64*a*.

Šaph'ēl: שֵׁיזְבֵין Sanh. 66*a*.

§652. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* קָטְלָהּ Macc. 16*a*.

Pa"ēl: שַׁיְּירָהּ B. B. 3*b*; קַבְּלָהּ *ibid.* 62*b*; קִידְּשָׁהּ Qidd. 59*a*, גָּרְשָׁא Pes. 110*b*; שַׁבְּשָׁא Yeb. 108*b*.

Aph'ēl: אַסְמְכָהּ M. Q. 5*a*; אוֹתְבָהּ Keth. 60*a*; אַדְּרָהּ Ned. 50*a*; אַסְפְּדָא Meg. 28*b*; אֵינְסְבָא Ned. 23*a*.

§653. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Qal:* חַשְׁבִינָן Pes. 50*b*; יָחֲבִינָן M. Q. 6*a*.

Pa"ēl: עַיְּילִינָן Taan. 23*b*.

Aph'ēl: אַשְׁמוֹעִינָן Ned. 73*b*; אַשְׁבְּעִנָן Taan. 24*a*; אַשְׁמְעִינָן Ber. 36*a*.

§654. 2D PLUR. FEM.—*Qal:* הַפְּכִי Pes. 110*b* (in an old magic formula).

Aph'ēl: אוֹקְמִינְכִי Qidd. 58*a*.

§655. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* פְּתַבִינְהוּ M. Q. 3*a*; הַקִינְהוּ B. Q. 101*a*; טַמִינְהוּ Gitt. 68*a*; פְּרַעִינְהוּ Keth. 85*a*; שְׁאִילַנְהוּ ʿEr. 53*b*; קְטָלִינְהוּ Ber. 54*b*; טְעָמִינְהוּ Ned. 91*b*; טְעָבִינְהוּן Alfâsî *ibid.*; חֲנָקִינְהוּ Me'ilā 2*ab*; אֲגִידַן M. MS. Zeb. 18*b*.[2]

Pa"ēl: עַיְּילִינְהוּ Macc. 20*a*; לַיְּיטִינְהוּ Šebu. 36*a*; תָּרְצַנְהוּ Ber. 61*b*.[3]

Aph'ēl: אַכְּשִׁירִינְהוּ Sanh. 26*b*; אַפְּקִינְהוּ Pes. 110*a*; אוֹתְבִינְהוּ Macc. 20*b*, Gitt. 47*a*; אַפְּקְרִינְהוּ B. M. 30*b*; אַשְׁכְּחַנְהוּ *ibid.* 22*a*; אַנְהֵירִנְהוּ Yeb. 35*a*; אוֹקְמִינָא Sanh. 72*a*.[4]

§656. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Qal:* אֲמִרִינְהוּ ed. pr. ʿEr. 43*a*, 56*a*.

Pa"ēl: שַׁפְּצַנְהוּ Meg. 4*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַפְּרֵישַׁנְהוּ C. MS. Zeb. 6*b*.

[1] כַּנְּשִׁיה, טַבְּעִיה, *SM.* No. VIII. (voc.).

[2] שַׁבְקִינְהוּ *SM.* No. LXXII. (voc.); נְסַחְפִינְן *HG.* ed. pr. 15*b*; נָסְחִינַן *Še'ēl.* 73.

[3] שַׁמַּתִינְהוּ *SM.* No. XLVI. (voc.); תָּרִיצִינְהוּ *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 2; חַבְּרִינַן *ibid.* 9.

[4] אַשְׁכְּחִינְהוּ *HG.* 455; הֵימְרִינְהוּן *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §214.

3D SING. FEM.

§ 657. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal:* קְרַצְתַּן 'Er. 65*a*.

§ 658. 2D SING. MASC.—*Aph'ēl:* אַדִּיקְתָּךְ B. Q. 47*a*.

§ 659. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* תְּבַעֲתֵּיהּ Qidd. 39*b*, 40*a*; שְׁקַלְתֵּיהּ *ibid.* 13*a*; זְנָתֵיהּ Sanh. 108*b*.

Pa"ēl: זַמֵּינְתֵּיהּ Meg. 15*b*; מִיעַטְתֵּיהּ Ned. 32*b*; שַׁהַדְתֵּיהּ Keth. 62*b*.[1]

Aph'ēl: אַשְׁכַּחְתֵּיהּ B. M. 59*b*; אוֹתַבְתֵּיהּ Sabb. 109*b*.

Ithpe'ēl: אִישְׁתְּמִיטָתֵיהּ Ḥull. 7*a*, Qidd. 71*b*.

§ 660. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* אַסְרָתָהּ Sabb. 81*b*; שְׁקַלְתָּא Ḥag. 5*a*; גַּפְתָּא Sanh. 82*b*; דְּצָתָא Sabb. 156*b*.

Pa"ēl: סַתְּרָתָהּ Sanh. 110*a*; גַּיְּיסָתָהּ 'En Y. *ibid.* 82*b*.

Aph'ēl: אַדְּרָתָהּ Ned. 21*b*, 22*a*; אַפֵּיקְתָהּ Sanh. 39*a*; אֲנַחְתָּא Ḥag. 5*a*.

§ 661. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* לְבִישְׁתִינְהוּ Keth. 54*a*; מְסַרְתִינְהוּ B. B. 123*a*; אֲכַלְתַּנּוּן Ned. 68*a*; מְסַרְתִינָה *AE.* Meg. 13*b*.[2]

Pa"ēl: שַׁהַדְתַּנְהוּ Sanh. 93*a*; שַׁהֲדֵיתִינְהוּ Alfâsî B. B. 10*b*; זַבְּנַתְּהוּ F. MS. B. M. 38*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַצְנַעְתִּינְהוּ C. MS. Meg. 16*a* (voc.).[3]

§ 662. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Qal:* תְּבַעֲתַּנְהִי Keth. 36*b*; כְּבַשְׁתַּנְהִי *ibid.* 60*a*; (כְּבַשְׁתִּינָה Alfâsî *ibid.*).[4]

2D SING COM.

§ 663. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal:* מְנַעְתַּן Ḥag. *b*; פְּטַרְתַּן Pes. 118*a*.

Pa"ēl: זַמַּנְתַּן B. B. 84*a*; צַעַרְתַּן Ber. 56*a*; קַבַּסְתַּן Sanh. 55*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַדְכַּרְתַּן Ber. 31*a*; אַדְּרַתַּן Keth. 60*b*; אוֹתִיבְתַּן B. B. 31*b*; אַדְכַּרְתִּי M. MS. Ḥag. 22*b*; אַטְרַחְתַּן Qidd. 40*a*.

§ 664. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* פְּרַעְתֵּיהּ Ned. 25*a*; נְגַדְתֵּיהּ Ber. 58*a*; יְהִיבְתֵּיהּ Yômâ 69*b*.

Pa"ēl: חַלֵּישְׁתֵּיהּ Ber. 18*b*; כַּסֵּיפְתֵּיהּ Ḥag. 5*a*; גָּרִירְתֵּיהּ Sanh. 96*a*; גָּרִידְתֵּיהּ M. MS. *ibid.*

Aph'ēl: אַטְלִיחְתֵּיהּ Ber. 13*a*; אַשְׁלַחְתֵּיהּ Ber. 56*b*.

[1] עַיְּילִיתֵּיהּ *HG.* ed. pr. 101*c*.

[2] כָּתַבְתִּינְהוּ *HG.* ed. pr. 71*d*, 73*c*.

[3] אַחְלַתַּנּוּן *HG.* ed. pr. 73*c*.

[4] רַחִיקְתַּנְהִי *HG.* 453.

§665. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* אַמְרִיתָהּ Ned. 41*a*; אֲמִרִיתָא *ibid.* 41*a*.

Aph'ēl: אוֹקִימְתָא Ned. 19*a*; אַדְּרְתָּהּ *ibid.* 22*a*, 23*a*.

§666. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Qal:* חֲשַׁדְתִּינָן Taan. 22*a*.

Pa"ēl: כַּסִּיפְתִּינָן Qidd. 81*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַגְמַרְתִּינָן *teach us*, 'En Y. Ḥag. 13*a*.

§667. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* קְטַלְתִּינְהוּ Ber. 48*a*, Sanh. 95*b*.

Pa"ēl: שַׁדַּרְתִּינְהוּ Succ. 53*a*; שַׁלִּימְתִּינְהוּ Sabb. 121*b*; קַדַּשְׁתִּינְהוּ Meg. 27*b*; פַּטַּרְתִּינוּן Ber. 56*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַפְסַדְתִּינְהוּ B. Q. 101*a*.[1]

1ST SING. COM.

§668. 2D SING. MASC.—*Pa"ēl:* קָרֵיבְתָּךְ M. MS. B. M. 84*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַזְהַרְתָּךְ Ned. 51*a*; אוֹדְפְתָּךְ Šebu. 41*a*.

§669. 2D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* אֲמַדְתִּיךְ Bekh. 61*a*.

Pa"ēl: שַׁדַּרְתִּיךְ Bekh. 61*a*; גָּרַשְׁתִּיךְ Yeb. 65*a*; סַכַּנְתִּיךְ Pes. 112*b*; שִׁיתַּפְתִּיךְ 'Er. 75*b*.

§670. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* עֲנִשְׁתֵּיהּ B. B. 21*b*; כְּבַשְׁתֵּיהּ Gitt. 68*b*; שְׁבִיעַתֵּיהּ Ber. 49*b*; שְׁאֵילְתֵּיהּ F. MS. Sanh. 110*a*.

Pa"ēl: לַטַּיְיתֵיהּ B. B. 21*b*; קַיְימְתֵּיהּ B. M. 42*b*.

Aph'ēl: אַתְפַּשְׁתֵּיהּ B. Q. 45*a*; אוֹקִימְתֵּיהּ B. M. 42*b*; אַסִּיקְתֵּיהּ Gitt. 68*b*; אַזְמִינְתֵּיהּ Sanh. 109*b*; אַהַדְּרְתֵּיהוּ 'En Y. B. B. 74*a*; אַשְׁפַּחְתּוּ Sabb. 67*a*, ed. pr.

§671. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* זְבִנְתָּהּ B. B. 31*a*; אֲמְרִיתָהּ Sabb. 22*a*; דְּעָצְיתָהּ B. B. 74*a*; שַׁקְלִיתָא *ibid.*

Aph'ēl: אַשְׁכַּחְתָּא B. B. 74*a*; אַגְבַּהְתָּהּ B. M. 8*a*; אֲנַחְתָּהּ 'En Y. B. B. 74*a*; אַמְשִׁינָהּ 'En Y. *ibid.*[2]

§672. 2D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* חֲשַׁבְתִּינְכוּ Ber. 58*b*.

Pa"ēl: בַּדַּרְתִּינְכוּ Taan. 3*b*; כַּנּוֹפְתִּיכוּ B. Q. 113*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַשְׁבַּעְתִּיכוּ Taan. 24*a*; אוֹתְבִינְכוּ Gitt. 47*a*; אַפְקִיתַנְכוּ M. MS. Ber. 35*a*.[3]

§673. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* שְׁאַלְתִּינְהוּ Sabb. 20*b*; שְׁמַעְתִּינְהוּ Ḥull. 96*a*; שְׁקִילְתִּינְהוּ Yeb. 116*b*; קְצַצְתִּינוּן Me'ilā 7*b*.

[1] אַשְׁהִידְתִּינַן Saadia, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §554.

[2] הֵימִינָתָהּ *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §1.

[3] קַבִּילְתִּינְכוּ *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §214.

Pa"ēl: בָּרֵיכְתִּינְהוּ Ber. 57*b*; סַיֵּימְתִּינְהוּ *ibid.* 33*b*; שַׁלֵּימְתִּינְהוּ Sabb. 121*b*.

Aph'ēl: אַשְׁכַּחְתִּינְהוּ M. Q. 19*b*; אַשְׁכַּחְתִּינוּן C. MS. Pes. 117*b*; אַשְׁכַּחְתִּינָא eds. Pes. 117*b*.[1]

§ 674. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Aph'ēl:* אוֹתְבִינְהִי B. M. 42*a*; אַשְׁכְּחִיתִינְהִי ed. Ven. Ber. 24*a*.

3D PLUR. MASC.

§ 675. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal:* חַשְׁדוּן M. Q. 18*b*.

Pa"ēl: בֵּירְכוּן M. MS. M. Q. 9*b*; צַעֲרוּן *ibid.*; צַעוּרַן *ibid.*;[2] בֵּירְכַן *ibid.*; פַּקְחִין Sanh. 70*a* (§ 646, 2).

Aph'ēl: אַזְקִנּוּן ʿEr. 56*a*.

§ 676. 2D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* שַׁבְקוּךְ Succ. 48*b*; גַּנְבוּךְ ʿEr. 53*b*.

Pa"ēl: פַּקְדוּךְ Yômâ 66*a*; קַדְּמוּךְ B. B. 167*a*; קִיבְּלוּךְ Sanh. 5*a*.

§ 677. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* זַקְפוּהַ B. M. 83*b*; חַבְּשׁוּהוּ Yômâ 69*b*; קַטְלוּהוּ Sanh. 96*a*; דִּינוּהוּ Bêçā 32*b*.[3]

Pa"ēl: קַבְּלוּהַ B. B. 90*b*; קִיבְּלוּהַ Sanh. 6*a*; קַיְּצוּהַ F. MS. B. M. 108*a*; שַׁיְּילוּהוּ Ber. 11*a*; עַיְּילוּהוּ M. Q. 17*a*; זַבְּנֵיהּ B. Q. 103*a* (§ 646, 2).

Aph'ēl: אַזְמִנּוּהַ R. H. 31*b*; אַפְּקוּהוּ Gitt. 57*a*; אַהַדְּרוּהוּ Ned. 55*a*; אַגְּבְּהוּהַ Ber. 21*a*; אַטְרְחוּהוּ ʿEr. 10*b* (§ 646, 2); אַטְרְחוּהוּ Ber. 21*a*; אַחְתְּיוּהַ B. M. 2*b*, 3*a*; אַחְתְּיוּהַ Sanh. 93*a* (√נחת); אוֹתְבִינֵיהּ Pes. 102*a* (§ 646, 2).[4]

§ 678. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* אֲמְרוּהַ Sabb. 74*a*; שָׁמוּהַ B. B. 133*b*.

Pa"ēl: בַּטְּלוּהַ Ber. 22*a*; שַׁדְּרוּהַ, אַפְּכוּהַ, Qidd. 44*b*.

Aph'ēl: אוֹתְבוּהַ Sabb. 81*b*; אוֹקְמוּהַ Sanh. 109*b*; אַשְׁכַּחוּהַ B. M. 84*b*; אוֹקְמִינְהָא Alf. MS. Bêçā (§ 646, 2).[5]

§ 679. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Qal:* שְׁבַקְנָן Gitt. 56*b* (§ 646, 2).

Pa"ēl: שַׁדְּרוּנָן *MM.* Taan. 23*b*.

[1] אוֹתְבִיתִינְהוּ *HG.* ed. pr., 93*b*.

[2] This is either the sing. צַעוּר or the plural with thrown back vowel צַעוּר.

[3] שַׁבָּקוּי *SM.* No. xcv.; צַלְקוּי *ibid.* No. ccxiii.

[4] אַשְׁבְּעוּהִי, אַשְׁבְּעוּהַ, *HG.* ed. pr. 116*c*; אַנְקְטוּי *SM.* No. ccxx.; אַחְזִיקוּהִי *RLOW.* § 101.

[5] שַׁהֲדוּהָא *SM.* xxv.; תַּרְגּוּמוּהַ *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 238; פַּסְקוּתָא *ŠÇ.* IV. 3, § 48.

§680. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* קְטָלוּנְהוּ M. MS. Taan. 21*a*; שְׁקָלוּנְהוּ ʿArûkh B. Q. 86*a*; שְׁקָלִינְהוּ Taan. 22*a*; קְטָלִינְהוּ *ibid.* 21*a*; קְטָלִינֵן Ber. 54*b* (§646, 2).[1]

Paʿēl: קַדְּשִׁינְהוּ Ber. 49*a*; תַּקְּנִינְהוּ *ibid.* 33*b*.[2]

Aphʿēl: אַפְקְעוּנְהוּ C. MS. M. Q. 25*a*; אַפְקִינְהוּ C. MS. Pes.; אַסְקִינְהוּ B. M. 84*b*; אַפְקִינְהוּ Ḥull. 110*a*; אַזְמִינְהוּ B. Q. 73*a*; אַסְמִכִינְהוּ Ber. 26*a*; אָעֲלִינְהוּ ʿEr. 44*b*; אַקְרוֹבִינְהוּ Tem. 15*b*; אַפְקְרִנְהוּ B. M. 30*b* (§646, 2).[3]

§681. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Qal:* צָרוּפְהִי A. Z. 30*a*; גַּדּוּהִי *they cut them off*, ʿArûkh Sanh. 106*a*.[4]

2D PLUR. MASC.

§682. 1ST SING. COM.—*Paʿēl:* סַכִּינְתִּין Qidd. 29*b*; כַּסֵּיפְתּוּן En Y. Hôr. 13*b*; קַבֵּילְתּוּן Pes. 89*b*; קַבֵּילְתַּן C. MS. *ibid.*

§683. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* פְּסַלְתּוּהָ Zeb. 101*a*; תַּפְסִיתּוּהָ Keth. 84*b*.

Aphʿēl: אַקְרִיבְתּוּהָ Zeb. 101*a*; אַחֲרִיבְתּוּהָ Keth. 112*a*.

§684. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Qal:* אַבְּרִיתָנָן R. MS. B. Q. 62*a*.

Paʿēl: כַּסֵּיפִיתָנָן Hôr. 13*b*.[5]

§685. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* זְבַנְתִּינְהוּ B. B. 126*a*.

Aphʿēl: תַּצִּיתוּנְהוּ Keth. 60*a*.

1ST PLUR. COM.

§686. 2D SING. MASC.—*Paʿēl:* קַבֵּילְנָךְ Pes. 89*b*.[6]

Aphʿēl: אַקְרִבְנָךְ B. M. 54*a*; אוֹתִיבְנָךְ Yômâ 78*a*.

§687. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* שְׁמַעְנֵיהּ Gitt. 54*b*; קְרַעְנוּהִי Keth. 89*b* (legal style); כְּתַבְנֵיהּ, כְּתַבְנוּהוּ, B. B. 171*b*.

Paʿēl: קַבֵּילְנֵיהּ Sanh. 38*b*; אַשְׁרְנוּהִי, קַיְּימְנוּהִי, Keth. 21*a* (legal style); אַחַרְנוּהוּ B. B. 171*b*.

Aphʿēl: אָכֵילְנֵיהּ, אוֹתְבִינֵיהּ, Sanh. 20*a*.

§688. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* פְּתַחְנָא B. B. 74*b*.

[1] לְקִרְטִינְהוּ *Igg. Šerirâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 10.

[2] קַבְּלִינַן *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 214; תַּקְּרִינְהוּ *ibid.* 217; שַׁיְּרִילְהוּ *HG.* ed. pr. 50*d*.

[3] אוֹתְרִבְהוּ *SM.* No. XXVIII.

[4] אַזְמִינְהִי *HG.* 227; אוֹקְמוּהִי *HG.* ed. pr. 70*c*; אַנְפּוּקִינְהִי *ŠÇ.* IV. 4, § 24.

[5] שְׁמַעְתּוּנְהוּ *you heard them*, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 217.

[6] סַלִּיקוּנָךְ *HG.* ed. pr. 71*d*.

§689. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* שְׂכַחְנִינְהוּ Pes. 106*b*; שְׂאֵילְנָהוּ or שְׁאֵילַנְהוּ Sanh. 29*b*.

Aph'ēl: אַקְדִּישְׁנִנְהוּ, אַטְבִּילְנָהוּ, A. Z. 52*b*; אַטְבִּילִנְנְהוּ, אַטְבְּלִינַנְהוּ, M. MS. *ibid.*[1]

§690. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Qal:* שְׁבַקִינָהִי C. MS. Meg. 10*b*.

IMPERFECT WITH SUFFIXES.

FORMS WITHOUT AFFORMATIVES.

§691. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal:* נִינְסַבְן Sanh. 22*a*.[2]

Pa"ēl: לְצַעֲרָן M. Q. 28*a*; לְמַנְּעָן Keth. 105*b*; לְיָבְרָכָן Taan. 5*b*.

Aph'ēl: לְיַגְמְרָן M. MS. Ḥag. 13*a*; לְיַצְּלָן Taan. 9*b*; לְהַתְבָן Gitt. 60*b*; תַּבְהֵיחָן Ned. 51*a*; תַּבְהֵיחָן *ibid.* 50*b*, with retention of stem-vowel.

Ithpa"al: תִּצְטַעֲרָן *thou bearest resentment against me*, Yeb. 117*b*.

§692. 2D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* נְקַטְלָךְ Yômâ 82*b*; לִיקְטְלָךְ Pes. 25*b*; אֵיגְזְרָךְ Sanh. 108*b*; אֶפְרְקִינָךְ Gitt. 46*a*.

Pa"ēl: לְיַבְּרְכָךְ M. Q. 9*b*; אֲצַעֲרָךְ Sanh. 108*a*; נְקַבְּלָנָךְ C. MS. Pes. 89*b*.

Aph'ēl: נַטְרְחָךְ Pes. 89*b*; לְיַצְּלָךְ Yeb. 63*a*; נַטְבִּילָנָךְ *ibid.* 46*b*; נַשְׁמְעִינָךְ Ber. 41*b*.[3]

§693. 2D SING. FEM.—*Pa"ēl:* תְּקַדְּמִינָךְ K. MS. Sanh. 25*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַגְמְרִינָךְ B. M. 83*b*; אוֹכְלִינָךְ ʿEr. 53*b*.

§694. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* לִישְׁלְחֵיהּ Sabb. 109*b*; לִישְׁקְלֵי, לִיחְתְמֵי, *ibid.* 66*b*; לִיפְתְּחֵיהּ *ibid.* 146*a*; לִיגְרְרֵיהּ Ḥull. 83*b*; נִלְטְרֵיהּ B. B. 4*a* (√לוט); נִטְחֵיהּ Gitt. 69*b* (√טוח); נִטְחֵיא *ibid.*; לְזָנֵיהּ Keth. 50*a* (√זון); לִיתְרֵיהּ A. Z. 12*b*; לִיתְעֵיהּ M. MS. *ibid.*; נְשָׁעֵיהּ B. B. 4*b* (√שעע); לִיתְבְּעִינֵיהּ Yeb. 42*b*; נִרְגְּמָתֵיהּ M. MS. Sanh. 95*a*.

Pa"ēl: לְיַחְסֵיהּ C. MS. Meg. 12*b* (voc.); לישמיתיה *ibid.* 4*a* (voc.); תְּקַדְּמֵיהּ Sanh. 25*a*; לְשַׁיְּפֵיהּ Sabb. 134*a*; לְיַזְּבְנֵהוּ Alfâsî B. B. 98*a*; אֲבַטְּלִינֵיהּ Gitt. 36*b*; אֵיסַלְּקִינֵיהּ *ibid.* 52*b*.[4]

[1] אַדְכְּרַנְּנִין *TG.* ed. Harkavy, §77.

[2] לִירְחָאי *HG.* ed. pr. 106*c*.

[3] Levy takes this form to be Qal; but the Hebrew equivalent הַשְׁמִיעַ Sanh. 82*a*, 93*a*, shows that this is Aph'ēl.

[4] נַשְׁדְּרֵיהּ *SM.* No. XXV. (voc.).

Aph'ēl: לוֹדְעֵיהּ Ber. 7*b*; לוֹכְלֵיהּ Sabb. 109*b*; אוֹסְרֵינֵיהּ A. Z. 57*a*.[1]

Ithpe'ēl: לִישְׁתַּטְחֵיהּ 'Er. 100*b*.

§695. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* אֶתְמְהָא, תְּסְבְּרָא, תֵּימְרָא, נְצְרָא, *passim*; לִישְׁבָּקָא Sanh. 82*b*; לֵילְפָא Ber. 63*a*; לִיסְכָּהּ *he anoints her*, Sabb. 110*b*.

Pa"ēl: לִיצְנְעָהּ B. B. 74*b*.[2]

Aph'ēl: לוֹקְמָהּ Ned. 5*b*; לִיאַדְּרָהּ Gitt. 35*a*;[3] נַטְבְּלִינָהּ Nidd 69*a*; לִיטְבְּלָהּ *let us allow her to take a ritual bath*, *ibid.* 30*a*.[4]

§696. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Qal:* לִיפְּרוֹקְנָן Sanh. 105*a*.

Aph'ēl: לַטְמְרִינָן Nidd. 61*a*; נִיגְמְרִינָן M. MS. Ḥag. 13*a*; לַשְׁמְעִינָן Pes. 114*b*; לִיטְרְדָן B. B. 5*b*; לִישְׁמְעִינָן Ber. 36*a*.

§697. 2D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* אֵיבְּהִקְינְכוּ Sanh. 93*a*.

Pa"ēl: אֲקַמְּטִינְכוּ Gitt. 47*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַטְמְרִינְכוּ Nidd. 61*a*; אוֹתְבִינְכוּ Gitt. 47*a*.

§698. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* לִישְׁלוֹקִינְהוּ Gitt. 68*b*; נִיהוֹקִינְהוּ *ibid.* 70*b*; אֵישְׁבְּקִינְהוּ *ibid.* 57*a*; נַחְשׁוֹבִינְהוּ A. Z. 9*b*; נִקְטְלִינְהוּ Ber. 54*b*; תִּימְשְׁחִנְהוּ B. M. 107*b*; נְשׁוֹרְפִינְהוּ Pes. 83*b*; לִיכְפְּיִינְהוּ Yeb. 39*ab* (√כפף); נְגְרוֹסִינְהוּ Sanh. 13*b*; לֵינוּפִינְהוּ Ḥull. 130*a*; לִישְׁדִינַן Sabb. 117*a*.

Pa"ēl: נְסַפְּרִינַן ed. pr. Sabb. 109*b*; נְסַפְּרִינַן later eds. *ibid.*; לְזַבְּינְהוּ Pes. 40*b*.[5]

Aph'ēl: אַהַדְּרִינְהוּ Keth. 60*a*; תַּצְּיתִינְהוּ *ibid.*; תַּבְּרְחִינְהוּ *ibid.* 78*b*; נוֹקְמִינְהוּ B. M. 39*b*; לֵיחְרְבִינוּ 'Ar. 28*a*; לוֹכְחִינְהוּ Sabb 55*a*.

Haph'ēl: לִיהֵימְנֵיהוּ Yeb. 47*a*.

B. Forms with Afformatives.

§699. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal:* נְגְטַרְנָן Ber. 23*b*.

Aph'ēl: תַּטְרְחוּנָן M. MS. Sanh. 97*a*; תַּטְרְדוּנָן F. MS. *ibid.*

§700. 2D SING. COM.—*Qal:* לִיקְטְלוּךְ Pes. 25*b*.

Pa"ēl: לִיבָּרְכוּךְ M. Q. 9*ab*.[6]

[1] נַפְלִינְהוּ *TG.* ed. Coronel, §87; אַצְנִיעֵיהּ *TG.* ed. Wilna, 1885, §44.

[2] נְיַבְּמָהּ *HG.* 274.

[3] *Cf.* Additions and Corrections to §222.

[4] Jastrow (*s. v.* טבל) explains this erroneously as 3d person.

[5] אַשַּׁבְּקִינְהוּ *SM.* No. LXXII. (voc.); לֵימְרִינְהוּן *TR.* II. 22.

[6] לְבָרְכוּךְ *SM.* No. CXLIII. (voc.).

§ 701. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* לִיקְנְסוּהַ Sabb. 3*b*; לְדַחֲקוּהַ B. M. 84*b*; לִיגְזְזוּהַ Succ. 30*a*; לֵיגְרוּהוּ B. M. 112*b*; תִּקְרְעוּנֵיהּ B. B. 130*b*; תִּקְרְעֲנֵיהּ R. MS. *ibid.*[1]

Pa"ēl: תְּרַחֲקוּהַ Sanh. 97*a*; נְעַיְּילוּהַ Ber. 18*b*; תְּחַלְּלוּנֵיהּ Sabb. 119*b*.

§ 702. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* לִיתְּבְעוּהַ Yeb. 65*a*; לְמְצִיאוּהַ Sabb. 54*b* (√מצא).

Pa"ēl: לְשַׁיְּירוּהַ B. B. 133*b*; תְּחַלּוּנָהּ M. MS. Sabb. 119*b* (√חלל).

Aph'ēl: לַתְּבוּהַ (√יתב) Sabb. 110*a*; לִיפְּסָעָהּ *ibid.*

§ 703. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* נִשְׁקְלִינְהוּ, נֵיכְלִינְהוּ, Taan. 25*a*; נֵימְרִינְהוּ Pes. 102*b*; תֵּיכְלִינַן *ibid.* 87*b*.

Pa"ēl: לִירַחֲקִינְהוּ Gitt. 45*a*; לִיקַבְּלִינְהוּ Sabb. 34*a*.

Aph'ēl: לִיגְמְרִינְהוּ ʿEr. 54*b*; לִיתְּבִינַן V. L. Taan. 8*b*.

IMPERATIVE WITH SUFFIXES.

SINGULAR MASCULINE.

§ 704. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal:* שַׁבְּקַן Gitt. 55*b*; פַּרְעִין,[2] פּוּרְעַן, Šebu. 41*b*; פַּרְעַן M. MS. *ibid.*; פִּירְקַן Pes. 87*b*; זִיבְּנַן B. M. 60*b*.

Aph'ēl: אוֹקְמַן Ber. 30*a*; אוֹשְׁלַן B. M. 103*a*; אוֹזְפַן Sabb. 66*b*; אַגְמְרַן Sanh. 102*b*; אַגְמְרִי Sōtā 36*b*.

§ 705. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* שַׁקְלֵיהּ M. Q. 17*a*; אַכְלֵיהּ *ibid.* 11*a*.[3]

Pa"ēl: דַּיְּינֵיהּ Sanh. 8*a*; שַׁיְּילֵיהּ *ibid.* 98*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַחְתֵּיהּ Gitt. 24*a*; אַחְלֵיהּ Ber. 35*a*.

§ 706. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* פַּשְׁטָהּ Ned. 58*a*; בַּדְקָהּ Keth. 60*a*; קַטְלָהּ Meg. 12*b*.[4]

Pa"ēl: בַּעֲתָהּ Nidd. 66*a*.

§ 707. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Pa"ēl:* עַיְּילִינָא Sabb. 140*a*.

[1] נְדַחֲקוּנְהִי *they press him, SM.* No. XCV.

[2] This word has been differently explained in § 217. The explanation given here according to Alfāsī's text. In our texts we have פַּרְעִין לֵיהּ, where the ending ־ין must be = *him*.

[3] פַּאַרְעֵיהּ *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 182; שַׁקְלֵי *TG.* ed. Coronel, § 87.

[4] שְׁקִילָהּ *TG.* ed. Wilna, 1885, § 213; נַטְרֵיהּ *ibid.*

§ 708. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* שַׁקְלִינְהוּ Ber. 18*b*; שַׁבְקִינְהוּ B. M. 85*a*.[1]

Pa"ēl: שַׁיְימִינְהוּ B. B. 46*b*; סַיְיעִינְהוּ Sabb. 21*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַחְדְּרִינְהוּ Sanh. 26*a*; אוֹקְמִינְהוּ *ibid.* 39*a*; אַפְקִינְהוּ B. B. 46*b*; אַקְשִׁינְהוּ Yeb. 8*a*.

SINGULAR FEMININE.

§ 709. 1ST SING. COM.—*Aph'ēl:* אַסְקֵן H. MS. B. M. 84*b*.

§ 710. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Pa"ēl:* שַׁהְדְּרִינְהוּ *VL.* Sanh. 93*a*.[2]

PLURAL MASCULINE.

§ 711. 1ST SING. COM.—*Aph'ēl:* אַגְמְרִינְ Ḥag. 13*a*; אוֹתְבַן Ḥull. 105*b*, B. M. 81*b*.

§ 712. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* יַהֲבוּהוּ Gitt. 56*b*; תַּפְסוּהוּ B. M. 83*b*; שִׁיבְקוּהָ Naz. 59*a*; בִּירְצוּהָ A. Z. 59*b*.

Pa"ēl: דַּיְינוּהָ Meg. 12*b*; פַּיְיסוּהוּ Hôr. 13*b*.

Aph'ēl: אַפְחֲשׁוּהוּ Yeb. 97*a* (§ 23, *c*).[3]

§ 713. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* שַׁבְקוּהָ Keth. 63*a*; סְיְתְרוּהָ Bekh. 8*b*; תִּיפְסוּהָ B. B. 34*a*.

Pa"ēl: אַחְרוּהָ Sabb. 119*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַקְדְּמוּהָ Sabb. 119*a*.[4]

PLURAL FEMININE.

§ 714. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* קְטוּלִין Sabb. 12*a*; קְטוֹלַן ed. Ven. *ibid.*; קַטְלִינְהוּ O. MS. *ibid.* (§ 258).

INFINITIVE WITH SUFFIXES.

§ 715. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal:* לְמִקְטְלִי Meg. 16*a*.

Pa"ēl: לְצַעְרַן Gitt. 68*a*.

Aph'ēl: לְאַגְמוֹרַן Ber. 24*a*; לְאַצְוֹלַן Qidd. 8*b*; לְאוֹזְפַן B. M. 69*b*.

§ 716. 2D SING. MASC.—*Aph'ēl:* לְאוֹתֵיתָךְ Gitt. 56*b*; לְאוֹתוֹכָךְ Yeb. 90*b*.

[1] הֲבִינְהִי *give them*, *HG.* 501; מַהֲלִינַן *HG.* ed. pr. 24*d*; נַסְרִינַן *TG.* ed. Wilna, 1885, § 214.

[2] שְׁבוֹקִינַן *leave thou them alone*, *SM.* No. XCV.; שַׁדְּרִינְהוּ *send thou them*, *SM.* No. XXVIII. (voc.).

[3] אוֹקִימְנָהִי *place ye him*, *SM.* No. XXVI. (voc.),

[4] אַפִּיקוּנַן *take them out*, *HG.* 501; אַפִּיקוּנַן *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 210.

§ 717. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* לְמִיקְטְלֵיהּ Gitt. 57*b*; לְמִבְלְעֵיהּ Sabb. 30*a*; לְמִיתְבְּעֵיא Alf. Yeb. 65*a*; לְאִקְטְלֵיהּ ed. Ven. Sanh. 109*a*; לְמִקְצֵייהּ M. Q. 12*b*, B. Q. 26*a*; לְמִילְטֵיהּ Ber. 7*a*; לְמִכְפֵּייהּ Yeb. 39*a*; לְמִגְזֵייהּ Succ. 37*b*; לְמִיחְשְׁדֵיהּ Bekh. 29*a* (by analogy with ל״י); לְמִשְׁעֵייהּ ʿEn Y. Succ. 51*b*; לְמִקְצֵיהּ B. Q. 91*b*.[1]

Paʿēl: לְזַבּוֹנֵיהּ M. Q. 10*b*; לְסַפּוֹנֵיהּ Sabb. 116*a*; לְיַחוֹסֵיהּ C. MS. Meg. 12*b*; לְמִישַׁיְּימֵיהּ ʿEr. 97*a* (טבם ו׳); לְמְדַיְּינֵיהּ R. H. 16*a*.[2]

Aphʿēl: לְאַדְכּוֹרֵיהּ Ber. 18*b*, 45*b*; לְאוֹקְמֵיהּ Sabb. 146*a*, B. M. 16*a*; לְאוֹדוֹעַ B. M. 42*b* (*cf.* § 437).[3]

Haphʿēl: לְהֵימוֹנֵיהּ B. B. 134*b*.

Šaphʿēl: לְשֵׁיזְבוּתֵיהּ B. M. 86*b*; לְשֵׁיזְבֵיהּ F. M. *ibid.*

§ 718. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* לְמִיכְבְּשָׁהּ Taan. 21*a*; לְמִיתְבְּעָהּ Qidd. 60*b*.

Paʿēl: לְנַתּוֹחָהּ Sabb. 52*a*; לְצַעוֹרָהּ Gitt. 73*b*; תָּרוֹצָהּ Ned. 16*a*; לְאַחֲרוּהַּ Sabb. 119*a*.

Aphʿēl: לְאוֹקְמָהּ Ned. 5*b*, 61*a*; לְאוֹלוֹדָהּ Keth. 11*b*.[4]

§ 719. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Aphʿēl:* לְאַשְׁמוֹעִינָן Ned. 52*b*; לְאַשְׁמְעִינָן Šebu. 23*a*, Qidd. 26*b*.[5]

§ 720. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* לְמִקְטַלְהוֹן C. MS. Pes. 50*a*; מַיְיצִינְהוּ M. Q. 10*b* (אזן ו׳); מִישְׁחִינְהוּ A. Z. 65*b*; מִיתְּנִנְהוּ Bekh. 11*b*; לְמִיכְלִינְהוּ Ber. 12*a*; לְמִבְּלִיקִינְהוּ Yeb. 108*a*; לְמֵיכְלִינְהוּ Alf. Ber. 38*b*; לְמִשְׁעֵיין Succ. 51*b* (שעע ו׳).[6]

Paʿēl: עַיְּילִינְהוּ ʿEr. 44*b*; לְמִידַיְּינְהוּ M. MS. R. H. 16*a*; לְזַבּוֹנִינְהוּ 2 M. MS. Pes. 40*b*.[7]

[1] לְמִיזְבְּנֵיהּ *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 388; לְמְדַקְרֵיהּ *SM.* No. LXX. (voc.); לְמִצְלֵיהּ *ibid.* XXIV. (misprinted XXVI.) (voc.); מִישְׁמֵיהּ *to rate it*, *HG.* ed. pr. 91*a*.

[2] לְעַיּוֹקֵיהּ *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 332.

[3] לַאֲקוֹמֵיהּ *TG.* ed. Wilna, 1885, § 52.

[4] לְאוֹקֵימָהּ *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 42; לְאוֹלָאלָהּ *ibid.* § 247.

[5] *2d plur. masc.:* לַמְּבַדְּקִינְכוֹן *SM.* No. XXVIII. (voc.).

[6] מִשְׁחַקְנְהוּ *HG.* 91; לְמִסְתְּמִינְהוּ *RLOW.* § 101; לְמַיְזְנְהוּ *HG.* ed. pr. 69*d*; לְמִיגְּרִיסִינְהוּ *Igg. Šerîrâ* 26; לְמִקְבִּיעִינְהוּ *ibid.* לְמִיגְּרְסָאנְהוּ *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 218;

[7] לְשַׁמְּתִינְהוּ *HG.* ed. pr. 21*d*; לְרַבּוֹשִׁינְהוּ *ibid.* 177; לְרַיְבְּשִׁינְהוּ *HG.* 114; לְזַבּוֹנִינְהוּ *RLOW.* § 42; לְשַׁלּוֹמְאנְהוּ *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 71; לְחַיּוֹבְאנְהוּ *ibid.* § 210.

Aph'ēl: לְאַנְחִינְהוּ B. Q. 118*a;* לְאַהַדְרִינְהוּ M. MS. Ber. 23*b;* לְאַקְהוּמִינְהוּ Ber. 8*b;* לְאַשְׁלוּמִינְהוּ *ibid.;* לְאַצּוֹלִינְהוּ Sabb. 61*b;* לְאַפְקוֹעַ B. Q. 112*b*.[1]

Palpēl: לְטַלְטוֹלִינְהוּ Sabb. 143*a*.

§ 721. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Qal:* לְמִכְתְּבִינְהִי C. MS. M. Q. 3*a;* לְמֵיכְלִינְהִי C. MS. Alf. Bêçā 4*a*.[2]

Pa"ēl: לְמִיזַּיְנִינְהִי Yeb. 65*a*.[3]

PARTICIPLE WITH SUFFIXES.

BARE PARTICIPLE.—§ 722. *Sing. masc.:* מְצַעֲרָן Sabb. 108*a;* פִּיסְקָהּ Sanh. 77*b;* מַיְיתְנֵיהּ Pes. 111*b* (§ 80, *b*); מְנַשְּׁתֵיהּ Sabb. 134*a* (§ 58); מְלַפְּפָהּ B. M. 74*a;* מְקַמְטִינְכוּ ʿArûkh Gitt. 47*a*.

Plur. masc.: מַפְּסְלוּהָ Yeb. 41*b;* מְמַצִּיעִינְהוּ ʿEn Y. Pes. 111*a*.[4]

WITH SUBJECT-PRONOUNS.—§ 723. פָּרַעְתֵּין *thou payest me,* Šebu. 41*b;* מְסַלְּקִינָךְ *I* (*we*) *remove thee,* B. M. 15*b;* מוֹכְלִינֵיהּ *we give him to eat,* K. MS. Sanh. 20*a;* אָמְרִיתְנָן *you tell us,* R. MS. B. Q. 62*a*.[5]

B. VERBS ל"י WITH OBJECTIVE SUFFIXES.

§ 724. Verbs ל"י take the same suffixes as other verbs, and what has been stated in § 646 applies also here. The chief points to be noticed in connection with these verbs is that the 3d masc. of the singular and the plural perfect and the entire imperfect and imperative, when before suffixes beginning with a vowel, restore frequently their third stem-consonant (י).

[1] לְאַהַדּוֹרָאנוּן *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 232: לְאוֹתוֹבִינַן *HG.* 165; לְאוֹקוֹדִינְהוּ *HG.* ed. pr. 29*d;* מַשְׁבִּיעַנְהוּ *to cause them to swear, RLOW.* § 42.

[2] לְמִינְסַבְנְהִי *HG.* 265; לְמִיתְבְּעֵיהִי *ibid.* 445; מְגַזְּרַנְהִי *HG.* ed. pr. 41*a;* מַיְיצִינְהִי *ibid.* (√אֲרַק); מְסְתַּמִינִין *RLOW.* § 101.

[3] *Pa.* חַלּוֹפַּנְהִי *HG.* 228; זַבּוֹנַנְהִי *ibid.*—*Aph.* אוֹזְפִינְהִי *ibid.*—*Haph.* לְהִימוֹנָאנִין *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 1.—*Šaph.* שַׁחְרוֹרַנְהִי *HG.* 442.—*Palp.* לְטַלְטוֹלַנְהִי *ibid.* 97.

[4] דָּבְרִינִין *HG.* 642; צָמְדִינַן *ibid.;* מַדְקִינְהוּ *they pound them, TR.* II. 17.

[5] D. Hoffmann, in his otherwise just strictures on Goldschmidt's translation of the Talmud, makes the unsupportable statement (*Zeitschr. für hebr. Bibliogr.*, I., 182) that participles with enclitic subject-pronouns cannot take objective suffixes. The examples given here and in § 780 and by Dalman, *op. cit.*, pp. 318 and 328, prove the untenability of his statement.

PERFECT WITH SUFFIXES.

3D SING. MASC.

§ 725. 1ST SING. COM.—*Qal:* מַחַיִן Taan. 29*a*.[1]

Pa"ēl: חַזְתַן B. M. 67*a*; חַזְתַן R. MS. *ibid.*; כַּסְיִן Ber. 56*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַשְׁקִינְ Sabb. 145*b*; אַשְׁקְנַאן or אַשְׁקִיאַן Keth. 104*b*; אַקְרִיִן Yeb. 93*b*.

§ 726. 2D SING. COM.—*Qal:* עֲנָךְ B. Q. 92*b*; קָרְיָךְ *ibid.*[2]

Pa"ēl: לַוִּיךְ Ḥull. 127*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַקְרָיְךְ Sabb. 152*b*; אַתְנָיְךְ Yeb. 40*a*; אַמְרִיךְ Sôtā 35*b*; אַקְשְׁיָאךְ or אַקְשִׁיאָךְ M. MS. ʿEr. 3*a*; אָתִיךְ F. MS. Sanh. 109*b*.

§ 727. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* חֲזֵיהּ Qidd. 81*b*; שְׁרֵיהּ, שַׁרְיֵיהּ, Ned. 23*a*; מַחֵיהּ Ber. 58*a*; שַׁהֲדֵיהּ M. Q. 10*b*; חֲזִיתֵיהּ V. L. Taan. 9*a*.

Pa"ēl: גַּלְיֵיהּ Ber. 5*b*; מַיְנֵיהּ Sabb. 154*a*; כַּבְיֵיהּ M. MS. Ber. 60*b*; שַׁוֵּיהּ Qidd. 45*b*; טַמִּיתֵיהּ Ḥull. 3*a*; נַשְׁרֵיהּ *ibid.* 91*a*; תִּיתְיֵיהּ Zeb. 19*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַלְוֵיהּ Ber. 31*a*; אַשְׁקֵיהּ Sabb. 108*a*; אַרְצֵיהּ Qidd. 45*b*; אַתְנֵיהּ Zeb. 30*b*; אַרְמֵיהּ Pes. 10*b*.

§ 728. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* חַזָיהּ Sanh. 95*a*; שַׁבְיָהּ Ber. 60*b*.

§ 729. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Pa"ēl:* דַּלִּינָן B. B. 73*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַקְרִינָן Ber. 56*a*.

§ 730. 2D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* קְרִיכוּ V. L. Ber. 58*a*.

Pa"ēl: שַׁוִּינְכוּ Pes. 51*a*.

§ 731. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* שְׁרַנְהוּ B. B. 24*a*; תְּלַנְהוּ R. H. 6*a*, 18*b*; תְּרַנְהוּ B. Q. 101*a*; חֲזַנְהוּ Ber. 28*a*; קְרִינְהוּ *ibid.* 58*a*; חֲזִינְהוּ Pes. 51*a*.[3]

Aph'ēl: אַגְלִינְהוּ Yômâ 69*b*; אַמְשִׁינְהוּ B. B. 153*a*.[4]

§ 732. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Qal:* בְּנַנְהִי Meg. 4*a*; תְּנַנְהִי ʿEr. 60*a*.[5]

[1] מִיחַאי *MV.* 28; מְחַאי *HG.* ed. pr. 74*c*.

[2] מַחְיִיךְ *MV.* 28.

[3] קְנָאנִין *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 75; דְּחַיְרִינִין or דַּחַיְרִינִין *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 12.

[4] אַיְרַתְּנְהוּ *HG.* 201.

[5] שְׁרַנְהִי *HG.* ed. pr. 32*a*.

Verbs ל״י *with Suffixes.*

QAL.	1st sing. com.	2d sing. masc.	2d sing. fem.	3d sing. masc.	3d sing. fem.
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc...	גָּלַנִי	גָּלְךָ	גָּלֵךְ	גָּלָהוּ	גָּלְתָה
3d fem....	גָּלְתַנִי	גָּלַתְךָ	גָּלְתֵךְ	גָּלְתָה־הוּ	גָּלְתָה
2d com....	גָּלִיתַנִי	——	——	גָּלִיתָהוּ	גָּלְתָה
1st com. ..	——	גָּלִיתִיךָ	גָּלִיתִיךְ	גָּלִיתִיהוּ	גָּלְתָה
Plur. 3d masc...	גָּלוּנִי	גָּלוּךָ	גָּלוּךְ	גָּלוּהוּ	גָּלוּהָ
2d masc...	גָּלִיתוּנִי	——	——	גָּלִיתוּהוּ	גָּלִיתוּהָ
1st com. ..	——	גָּלִינוּךָ	גָּלִינוּךְ	גָּלִינוּהוּ	גָּלִינוּהָ
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc...	יִגְלַנִי	יִגְלְךָ	יִגְלֵךְ	יִגְלֶהוּ	יִגְלֶהָ
Plur. 3d masc...	יִגְלוּנִי	יִגְלוּךָ	יִגְלוּךְ	יִגְלוּהוּ	יִגְלוּהָ
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc...	גְּלַנִי	——	——	גְּלֵהוּ	גְּלִי־הָ
Plur. 2d masc...	גְּלוּנִי	——	——	גְּלוּהוּ	גְּלוּהָ
INFINITIVE	גְּלוֹתַנִי	גְּלוֹתְךָ	גְּלוֹתֵךְ	גְּלוֹתוֹ	גְּלוֹתָהּ
PA״EL.					
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc...	גִּלַּנִי	גִּלְּךָ	גִּלֵּךְ	גִּלָּהוּ	גִּלְּתָה
3d fem....	גִּלְּתַנִי	גִּלַּתְךָ	גִּלְּתֵךְ	גִּלְּתָה־הוּ	גִּלְּתָה
2d com....	גִּלִּיתַנִי	——	——	גִּלִּיתָהוּ	גִּלְּתָה
1st com. ..	——	גִּלִּיתִיךָ	גִּלִּיתִיךְ	גִּלִּיתִיהוּ	גִּלְּתָה
Plur. 3d masc...	גִּלּוּנִי	גִּלּוּךָ	גִּלּוּךְ	גִּלּוּהוּ	גִּלּוּהָ
2d masc...	גִּלִּיתוּנִי	——	——	גִּלִּיתוּהוּ	גִּלִּיתוּהָ
1st com. ..	——	גִּלִּינוּךָ	גִּלִּינוּךְ	גִּלִּינוּהוּ	גִּלִּינוּהָ
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc...	יְגַלַּנִי	יְגַלְּךָ	יְגַלֵּךְ	יְגַלֶּהוּ	יְגַלֶּהָ
Plur. 3d masc...	יְגַלּוּנִי	יְגַלּוּךָ	יְגַלּוּךְ	יְגַלּוּהוּ	יְגַלּוּהָ
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc...	גַּלַּנִי	——	——	גַּלֵּהוּ	גַּלִּי־הָ
Plur. 2d masc...	גַּלּוּנִי	——	——	גַּלּוּהוּ	גַּלּוּהָ
INFINITIVE	גַּלּוֹתַנִי	גַּלּוֹתְךָ	גַּלּוֹתֵךְ	גַּלּוֹתוֹ	גַּלּוֹתָהּ

Verbs ל״י *with Suffixes.*

QAL.	1st plur. com.	2d plur. masc.	2d plur. fem.	3d plur. masc.	3d plur. fem.
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	גְּלָיָנוּ	גְּלָכֶם	גְּלָכֶן	גְּלָהוּ	גְּלָתְהוּ
3d fem. . . .	גְּלִיתִינוּ	גְּלִיתֶם	גְּלִיתֶן	גְּלִיתְהוּ	גְּלִיתְהוּ
2d com. . . .	גְּלִיתֶנוּ	——	——	גְּלִיתֶהוּ	גְּלִיתְהוּ
1st com. . .	——	גְּלִיתִינוּ	גְּלִיתִינוּ	גְּלִיתִיהוּ	גְּלִיתִיהוּ
Plur. 3d masc. . .	גְּלִינוּ	גְּלִיתֶם	גְּלִיתֶן	גְּלוּהוּ	גְּלוּתְהוּ
2d masc. . .	גְּלִיתוּנוּ	——	——	גְּלִיתוּהוּ	גְּלִיתוּהוּ
1st com. . .	——	גְּלִינוּנוּ	גְּלִינוּנוּ	גְּלִינוּהוּ	גְּלִינוּהוּ
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לְיִגְלֶנּוּ	לְיִגְלֶכֶם	לְיִגְלֶכֶן	לְיִגְלֶהוּ	לְיִגְלֶתְהוּ
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לְיִגְלוּנוּ	לְיִגְלֶכֶם	לְיִגְלֶכֶן	לְיִגְלוּהוּ	לְיִגְלוּתְהוּ
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc. . .	גְּלֵנוּ	——	——	גְּלֵהוּ	גְּלֵתְהוּ
Plur. 2d masc. . .	גְּלוּנוּ	——	——	גְּלוּהוּ	גְּלוּתְהוּ
INFINITIVE	מִגְלֵנוּ	מִגְלֵכֶם	מִגְלֵכֶן	מִגְלֵהוּ	מִגְלֵתְהוּ
PA״ĒL.					
PERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	גִּלַּיָנוּ	גִּלִּיכֶם	גִּלִּיכֶן	גִּלִּיהוּ	גִּלַּתְהוּ
3d fem. . . .	גִּלִּיתִינוּ	גִּלִּיתֶם	גִּלִּיתֶן	גִּלִּיתְהוּ	גִּלִּיתְהוּ
2d com. . . .	גִּלִּיתֶנוּ	——	——	גִּלִּיתֶהוּ	גִּלִּיתְהוּ
1st com. . .	——	גִּלִּיתִינוּ	גִּלִּיתִינוּ	גִּלִּיתִיהוּ	גִּלִּיתִיהוּ
Plur. 3d masc. . .	גִּלִּינוּ	גִּלִּיתֶם	גִּלִּיתֶן	גִּלִּיוּהוּ	גִּלִּיתְהוּ
2d masc. . .	גִּלִּיתוּנוּ	——	——	גִּלִּיתוּהוּ	גִּלִּיתוּהוּ
1st com. . .	——	גִּלִּינוּנוּ	גִּלִּינוּנוּ	גִּלִּינוּהוּ	גִּלִּינוּהוּ
IMPERFECT—					
Sing. 3d masc. . .	לְיַגֵּלֶנּוּ	לְיַגֵּלֶכֶם	לְיַגֵּלֶכֶן	לְיַגֵּלֶהוּ	לְיַגֵּלֶתְהוּ
Plur. 3d masc. . .	לְיַגֵּלוּנוּ	לְיַגֵּלֶכֶם	לְיַגֵּלֶכֶן	לְיַגֵּלוּהוּ	לְיַגֵּלוּתְהוּ
IMPERATIVE—					
Sing. 2d masc. . .	גַּלֵּנוּ	——	——	גַּלֵּהוּ	גַּלֵּתְהוּ
Plur. 2d masc. . .	גַּלּוּנוּ	——	——	גַּלּוּהוּ	גַּלּוּתְהוּ
INFINITIVE	גַּלּוֹתֵנוּ	גַּלּוֹתֵכֶם	גַּלּוֹתֵכֶן	גַּלּוֹתָם	גַּלּוֹתָן

3D SING. FEM.

§ 733. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* חֲזִיתִיהּ Sanh. 95*a*, 101*a*; שְׁדִיתִיהּ Meg. 16*a*; שְׁדַתִיהּ Sanh. 95*a*; קְשִׁיתִיהּ B. B. 98*b*.

Pa"ēl: רַבִּיתִיהּ C. MS. Meg. 13*a* (voc.); שַׁוִּיתִיהּ Macc. 16*a*; בִּיהַתִיהּ Sabb. 80*b*.[1]

Aph'ēl: אַיְיתִיתִיהּ Ber. 48*a*; אַשְׁקִיתִיהּ Taan. 29*a*; אִישְׁקִיתִיהּ Sabb. 109*b*; אוֹגְנִיתִיהּ B. M. 84*b*;[2] אַרְוִיתִיהּ Sanh. 109*b*; אַגְנִיתִיהּ *ibid.*

§ 734. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Qal:* חֲזִיתִינָן Keth. 72*b*.

§ 735. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* שְׁדִיתִינְהוּ Qidd. 8*b*.

Ithpa"al: אִיכַּסְתִינְהוּ Keth. 54*a*.

§ 736. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* חֲזִיתָהּ Sanh. 104*a*; קְלָתָהּ *ibid.*

Aph'ēl: אַקְנִיתָא Gitt. 20*b*.

2D SING. COM.

§ 737. 1ST SING. COM.—*Aph'ēl:* אַקְרִיתַן B. B. 21*b*; אוֹנִיתַן *ibid.* 84*a*.

§ 738. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* חֲזִיתְתִיהּ Ḥag. 15*a*.

Pa"ēl: מַלִּיתִיהּ M. MS. B. M. 105*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַיְיתִיתִיהּ Ḥag. 4*b*.

§ 739. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Qal:* חֲזִיתְינָן B. B. 110*b*.

Pa"ēl: שַׁוִּיתִינָן Pes. 3*b*.

§ 740. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* טְוִיתַנְהוּ Ḥull. 110*a*; מְחִיתַנְהוּ Sabb. 148*a*; מְחִיתִינְהוּ Pes. 42*a*; מְהָתִינְהוּ Ber. 24*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַיְיתִינְהוּ Sanh. 95*b*.

1ST SING. COM.

§ 741. 2D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* חֲזִיתָךְ Ḥull. 96*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַתְנִיתָךְ Zeb. 30*b*.

§ 742. 2D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* חֲזִיתִיךְ Sanh. 108*b*.

§ 743. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* חֲזִיתִיהּ M. Q. 25*a*; בְּעִיתִיהּ B. B. 74*b*; שְׁדִיתִיהּ Taan. 24*a*.

Pa"ēl: כַּסִּיתִיהּ B. Q. 56*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַתְנִיתִיהּ Zeb. 30*b*; אַחְזִיתִיהּ B. M. 99*b*.

§ 744. 2D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* חֲזָתְיכוּ Ber. 58*b*.[3]

[1] נַשִּׁיתִיהּ *HG.* ed. pr. 101*c*.

[2] *Cf.* § 768, note.

[3] שַׁוִּיתְינְכוּ *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 214.

§ 745. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* חֲזֵיתִינְהוּ B. B. 73*b*.

Pa"ēl: עַטִּיתִינְהוּ Keth. 50*a*.[1]

§ 746. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* בְּעֵיתָהּ 'En Y. B. B. 74*a*.[2]

3D PLUR. MASC.

§ 747. 1ST SING. COM.—*Aph'ēl:* אַקְרִיוּן B. B. 21*b*; אַקְרִין Ḥull. 133*a*; אַקְרוּיַן 1 R. MS. *ibid.* (§ 532).

§ 748. 2D SING. COM.—*Pa"ēl:* שַׁוְּיוּךְ Succ. 48*b*.

Aph'ēl: אַקְרִיוּךְ Yeb. 93*b*.

§ 749. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* מְחוּהוּ Ber. 56*a*; שַׁרְיוּהַּ Ned. 23*a*; קָרְיוּהַּ B. B. 58*a*.

Pa"ēl: שַׁנְּיוּהַּ Ber. 59*b*.

Aph'ēl: אַדְּחוּהוּ B. B. 73*b*; אַמְטוּהוּ B. M. 85*a*; אַיְיתוּהוּ Ber. 31*b*; אַתְיוּהַּ *ibid.* 56*a*; אַמְטְיוּהִי Keth. 103*b*; אַיְיתְיוּהַּ Sabb. 121*b*; אַשְׁקְיוּהַּ Gitt. 56*b*; אַשְׁקְוֵיהּ B. M. 83*b* (§ 532).[3]

§ 750. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* שַׁדְיוּהַּ B. M. 112*b*; שַׁרְיוּהָא O. MS. Sabb. 81*b*.

Pa"ēl: כַּסּוּיֵהּ Tām. 32*b* (§ 532).

Aph'ēl: אַתְנְיוּהַּ Men. 17*a*; אַנְשְׁוֵיהּ Alf. Ḥull. 93*b*; אַמְטְוֵיהּ M. MS. Sabb. 129*a* (§ 532).

§ 751. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* שְׁרִינְהוּ Ber. 23*a*; שְׁרִיבְהוּ *ibid.*; חֲזִינְהוּ Sabb. 20*b*; חֲזִנְהוּ M. MS. *ibid.*; מְחוֹנְהוּ Gitt. 57*a*; מְחוֹנְיֵיהוּ *MM. ibid.*; מְלַנְהוּ Sanh. 109*a*; שְׁדִין 'En Y. Taan. 25*a*.[4]

Pa"ēl: שַׁוִּיהוּ Sanh. 110*a*; סַמְּיִנְהוּ B. M. 85*b*; שַׁוּוּנָהּ Nidd. 57*b*.[5]

Aph'ēl: אַיְיתִינְהוּ M. Q. 11*a*; אַיְיתִינָן Ned. 50*b*; אַמְנִינְהוּ Pes. 89*a*.[6]

2D PLUR. MASC.

§ 752. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* שְׁרִיתוּהַּ Sabb. 136*b*; תְּנִיתוּהַּ *ibid.* 91*a*.

[1] אַקְנִיתוּן *I placed them in possession*, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 214; אִיתִיתִינָן *HG.* 231; שַׁדִּיתִינְהוּ *I threw them*, *SM.* No. XXVIII. (voc.); שַׁוִּיתְנוּן *ŠÇ.* IV. 4, § 55.

[2] חֲזִיתָהּ *HG.* ed. pr. 37*a*.

[3] אָתִיבָהּ *they brought him*, *SM.* No. XXVIII.

[4] מְלוֹנְהוּ *SM.* No. XXV. (voc.); חֲזִיבְהוּ *ibid.* No. LIII.; כְּפִינָן *ibid.* No. CCXIII.; שְׁחִינָא *Hal. Pes.*, p. 80; חֲזוּנָן *Igg. Šerirâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 12; תְּנִינְהוֹן *ibid.*, p. 16; תְּנִינָן *ibid.*

[5] שַׁוִּינָן, שַׁוִּינָן, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 214.

[6] אַתְנוּן *TG.* ed. Mussafia, § 99.

1st Plur. Com.

§ 753. 2d sing. com.—*Qal:* חֲזִינָךְ Ber. 58*b*.

Pa"ēl: שַׁיְּנָךְ Hôr. 13*b*.

§ 754. 3d sing. masc.—*Qal:* חֲזִינֵיהּ Bekh.; דְּחֵינֵיהּ 'Er. 41*a*.[1]

Aph'ēl: אַשְׁקִינֵיהּ M. Q. 27*a*; אַקְרִינֵיהּ, אַקְרִינֵיהּ Yeb. 106*b* (legal style).[2]

§ 755. 3d sing. fem.—*Qal:* תְּנִינָהּ C. MS. Zeb. 27*b*.[3]

§ 756. 3d plur. masc.—*Qal:* תְּנִינָהוּ Šeb. 18*a*; חֲזִנָּהוּ B. B. 74*b*; חֲזִנַּנְהוּ M. MS. *ibid.*[4]

§ 757. 3d plur. fem.—*Qal:* תְּנִנָּהִי Bekh. 38*b*.

IMPERFECT WITH SUFFIXES.

Forms without Afformatives.

§ 758. 1st sing. com.—*Qal:* לִימְשַׁיִן Sanh. 7*b*.

§ 759. 2d sing. com.—*Qal:* נֶחֱזִינָךְ Rašî in ed. Cracow Sanh. 25*b*.

Pa"ēl: נִישַׁוְּרִיךְ Qidd. 70*b*; נִישַׁוְּרִיךְ 'En Y. *ibid.*

Aph'ēl: אַתְנִיךְ Yeb. 40*a*; תַּרְמִיזָךְ A. Z. 34*b*.[5]

§ 760. 3d sing. masc.—*Qal:* לִיתְנֵיהּ Qidd. 65*a*; לִיקְלֵיהּ Sabb. 110*a*; אֶבְנֵיהּ Gitt. 68*b*; לְקָלֵיהּ Ber. 6*a*.

Pa"ēl: לְשַׁמֵּיהּ Meg. 16*a*; לְטַמֵּיהּ Ḥull. 3*a*; לִימַלֵּיהּ Sabb. 109*b*; לִיתִּיתֵיהּ *ibid.* 67*a*; לִישַׁוְּרֵיא M. MS. Meg. 16*a*; נְשַׁוְּרִיתֵיהּ Qidd. 81*a*; לְרַבֵּיהּ Ber. 62*a*; אֵישַׁוְּרֵיהּ Yeb. 49*b*; וְתִיטַבֵּיהּ C. MS. Pes. 20*a* (voc.) (=וְתִטַּמֵּיהּ).

Aph'ēl: לִיכְּשֵׁיהּ Sabb. 104*a*; לִיכְּשֵׁיהּ *ibid.* 110*a*.[6]

§ 761. 3d sing. fem.—*Qal:* תִּירְמֵיהּ M. Q. 2*b*.

Pa"ēl: אֲסַמֵּיהּ Yeb. 40*a*; נִישַׁנֵּיהּ Sabb. 119*a*.

Aph'ēl: אַתְנֵיהּ C. MS. Meg. 4*a* (voc.); נֵיתֵיהּ Qidd. 61*b*; תֵּיתְנֵיא *ibid.* 32*a*.[7]

§ 762. 1st plur. com.—*Aph'ēl:* תַּשְׁקִינָן Qidd. 70*a*.

[1] דְּחֵינְהוּ in יחוסי תנאים, p. 1*b*.

[2] אִינְשִׁינֵיהּ *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 181.

[3] אַקְרִינְהָא *HG.* 315.

[4] חָזְרַנְּיוּן *Hal. Pes.* § 132; אַתְנִינוּן *Igg. Šerirâ*, pp. 13, 14.

[5] *Cf.* Luzzatto's *hebr. Briefe*, p. 1040.

[6] נִיקְנֵיהּ *HG.* 406.

[7] תִּיקְדְּמָה *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 359 (§ 86).

§ 763. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* נְקִרִינְהוּ Yeb. 79*a;* נְקִלִינְהוּ Gitt. 69*a;* אֲחִזִינְהוּ Keth. 63*a;* נִיתְנָהוּ Ker. 3*a;* לִיתְנִנְהוּ ʿEr. 16*a;* לִישַׁדְנְהוּ Ḥull. 90*b;* נֶחְזִנָּא Raši Sanh. 25*b;* לְשַׁדִּין Sabb. 66*b;* לְכַפְיִיהוּ Yeb. 39*ab.*[1]

Paʿēl: לְסַמִּינְהוּ Gitt. 68*b;* נִיכַּלִינְהוּ *let us destroy them*, Meg. 13*b;* לִי כַּלִינְהוּ C. MS. *ibid.* (voc. and in two words; see "Additions and Corrections").

FORMS WITH AFFORMATIVES.

§ 764. 2D SING. COM.—*Qal:* נְקִרִיוּהְ M. MS. B. M. 105*a.*

§ 765. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* לְקִרִיוּהַ B. M. 16*a;* לִיקְלִיוּהַ Gitt. 56*b;* לִיחְזִיוּהַ Ḥull. 78*a;* לִיחְזִיהּ Sabb. 67*a.*

Aphʿēl: לַקְרִיין Ḥull. 133*a.*

§ 766. *Qal:* לִיקְנוּיָהּ Succā 30*b* (§ 532).[2]

§ 767. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Aphʿēl:* לִיכְהֵיוּהוּ Sanh. 27*a;* לַשְׁהִינוּ, לַשְׁהִינְהוּ eds. Pes. 30*a.*[3]

IMPERATIVE WITH SUFFIXES.

SINGULAR.

§ 768. 1ST SING. COM.—*Aphʿēl:* אַשְׁקִין B. M. 60*b*, Qidd. 9*a*, 31*b;* אוֹגְנִין or אוּגְנִין B. M. 84*b;*[4] אַגְנִיין or אַגְנִין H. MS. *ibid.* (f.); אַשְׁקִין Sanh. 67*b.*

§ 769. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* שַׁדְיֵיהּ B. B. 63*a.*

Paʿēl: דַּלְיֵיהּ Ber. 18*a;* נִיסְיֵיהּ A. Z. 15*a.*

§ 770. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* בְּעֵיָא ʿEr. 80*a.*

Aphʿēl: אִיתְנֵיָא Qidd. 32*a.*

§ 771. 1ST PLUR. COM.—*Aphʿēl:* אַשְׁקִינָן A. Z. 58*ab.*

§ 772. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* מְנִינְהוּ Sanh. 39*a;* קְלִינְהוּ Yômâ 84*a.*

Paʿēl: זַכִּינְהוּ Bekh. 8*b;* כַּסִּינְהוּ Sanh. 110*a.*

Aphʿēl: אַיְתִינְהוּ Bekh. 8*b.*

PLURAL.

§ 773. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* שַׁדְיוּהַ Yômâ 69*b.*

Paʿēl: חַפְיוּהַ Yômâ 69*b.*

Aphʿēl: אַיְתוּהַ eds. Ber. 56*a;* אַמְטְיוּהוּ Sabb. 119*a;* אַבְרְיוּהוּ Yeb. 97*a.*

[1] לִימְחַנְיהוּ *HG.* 560.

[2] לִיקְרִיוּהָא Še'ēl. 154.

[3] לִישְׁהִינְהִי *HG.* ed. pr. 29*c.*

[4] Passing into פ״ו, or obscuring the vowel.

§ 774. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Pa"ēl:* שַׁוִּינְהוּ B. B. 172*a*.
Aph'ēl: אוֹזִיפוּנְהוּ A. Z. 71*a*.
§ 775. 3D PLUR. FEM.—*Pa"ēl:* שַׁוּוּפְנְהִי B. B. 172*a*.

INFINITIVE WITH SUFFIXES.

§ 776. 3D SING. MASC.—*Qal:* לְמִרְמֵיהּ Sabb. 62*a*; לְמִחְוֵיהּ Ber. 56*a*; לְמִיחְזֵי R. H. 17*a*; לְמִסְנֵיהּ Pes. 113*b*; לְמִשְׁנֵיהּ 'En Y. *ibid.*[1]
Pa"ēl: לְבַזְוֵיהּ C. MS. Meg. end.[2]
Aph'ēl: לְאֵיתְוֵיהּ Sabb. 62*a*; אַרְמְוֵיהּ Pes. 10*b*.[3]
§ 777. 3D SING. FEM.—*Qal:* לְמִיתְלָהּ Meg. 4*a*; לְבִקְרָהּ A. Z. 53*b*.
Ithpe'ēl: לְאִישְׁתְּרוֹיָא 'En Y. Yeb. 102*b*.
§ 778. 2D PLUR. MASC.—*Pa"ēl:* לְנַסּוֹרֵיכוּ M. MS. Sanh. 101*b*; לְמִינַסְּרִינְכוּ V. L. *ibid.*
§ 779. 3D PLUR. MASC.—*Qal:* לְמִישְׁדַיְידְהוּ 'Ar. 16*b*; לְמִבְנִינְהוּ B. B. 73*b*; לְמִבְנִינָהוּ 'En Y. *ibid.*; בִּיפִינְהוּ *to bake them*, A. Z. 65*b*.[4]
Pa"ēl: לְרַבּוֹרִינְהוּ Tem. 32*b*; לְנַסְּרוּנְהוּ Raši Sanh. 101*b*; לְמִינַסְּרִינְהוּ Sanh. 101*b*; לְמִינַסְּנְהוּ *ibid.* 'En Y.
Aph'ēl: לְאַטְוִורִינְהוּ Sabb. 57*a*; לְאוֹרִינְהוּ Zeb. 116*a*; לְאֵיתְוִורִינְהוּ Bêçā 4*a*.[5]

PARTICIPLE WITH SUFFIXES.

§ 780. מְרַבֵּיהּ Ber. 62*a*.—מַשְׁקִינֵיהּ *we give him to drink*, K. MS. Sanh. 20*a*.

THE NOUN.

§ 781. Under this head are included substantives and adjectives. The difficulties which present themselves to us in the classification of nouns even in Syriac are infinitely augmented in Babylonian Aramaic, both on account of the uncertainty of the vocalization, as well as from the lack of a dictionary answering modern requirements. The classification can, therefore, at best, be only tentative. Still it is hoped that even such a tentative attempt will result in much that is positive; it will clear up many uncertainties, and furnish points for further research in many directions.

[1] לְמִיתְרֵיהּ *to teach it*, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 1 (§ 86).
[2] לְתַתְּוֵיהּ *HG.* 184. [3] לְאַיְיתֵיהּ *TG.* ed. Coronel, § 87. [4] לְמִשְׁדַּנְהִי *HG.* 141.
[5] אוֹתְוִינְהוּ *HG.* 91; לְאָתְיִנְהוּ *ibid.* 449; אִיתְוֹהִי *ibid.* 91; לְאַקְנוֹיְאנִין *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 237.

§ 782. It has been the author's endeavor in this chapter, as throughout this entire work, to give a complete enumeration of existing forms, as far as such a thing is at present possible. Illustrative examples have been selected with the following points of view: to present such words, where possible,

(1) which, etymologically and morphologically, are more certain;

(2) which illustrate phonetic laws not mentioned in the first part of this work;

(3) which give occasion for etymological remarks;

(4) for which there are examples with *matres lectionis*, so that their form can be established beyond a doubt.

§ 783. Among the many difficulties exhibited by the talmudic noun, one phenomenon is especially marked — the multiplicity of forms of one and the same word. *Cf.*, for instance, סְכוֹלָא, סוּכְלָא, סִכְלָא, *fool*, *VL.*, B.B. 126*b*; כּוּרְיָא, כּוֹרְיָא, *fish*; זִמְנָא, זְמָנָא, *time*; גּוּדְשָׁא, גֻּדְשָׁא, *heap*; שִׁטְרָא, שִׁיטְרָא, *document*; גִּרְסָא, גִּרְאֵי, *variant*(*s*); תְּלָתִין, תּוֹלְתִין, *thirty*; פַּנְדָּא, פִּנְדֵי, *handle*(*s*); אַגְרָא, אוּגְרָא, *employer*; אַחְתָּא, אֲחוֹתָא, *sister*; חֲמִיתָא, חֵימְתָא, *mother-in-law*; קְבוּעָא, קִבְיָעָא, *fixing*, and many others. Now, some of these forms are undoubtedly original and legitimate by-forms; as, *e. g.*, the last example cited. Others are, no doubt, reduced forms; as, *e. g.*, אוּחְתָּא, Arab. أُخْت, and חֵימְתָא. Again, others are probably broken plurals; as the forms from which פִּנְדֵי and גִּרְאֵי are derived.[1] Still this does not explain all the phenomena.[2] A satisfactory explanation is afforded only by the recognition of the fact that forms of the types فُعْل and فَعُل appear not only as קְטָל, קֶטֶל, or קֶטֶל; קִטְיָא, קִטֵּיל, or קִיטֵל; and קוּטְלָא, קְטוֹל, or קוֹטֵל; but also as קָטְלָא, קָטָל; קִטְיָלָא, קְטִיל, קְטֵיל, קְטֵיל; and קָטוֹלָא, קְטוּלָא, קְטוֹל, קְטוֹל.

§ 784. The present state of our knowledge of Semitic phonetics and nominal formation makes the task of proving such a proposition a hopeless one. I would only limit myself to state that the current belief that Aramaic qâmēç always represents an

[1] *Cf.* Brockelmann, *ZDMG.*, LI., p. 659.

[2] *Cf.* also König, *Hebr. Gramm.*, II., 1, pp. 470 *sqq.*, for additional explanations.

original *â* does no justice to the facts. In many cases Aramaic qâmēç is, like the Hebrew qâmēç, merely a produced *ă*. The only difference between Aramaic and Hebrew, with regard to the production of *ă* to *ā*, is that in the latter the process is still in full life, while in the former we have only petrified remnants of this process. Everybody will admit that in the Syriac equivalents ܟܘܪܣܐ, ܟܘܣ, ܢܘܫ, ܓܘܦ, of the Hebrew כֻּשִׂי, עֻבְרָ, רֻסָּן, רֻצָּם, qâmēç represents *ă;* but nobody seems willing to do the same in the case of מְחָר, חֲצָצְנָא, עֲנָנָא, קְהָלָא, the equivalents of Hebrew מָחָר, חָצָץ, עָנָן, and קָהָל.

§ 785. From the above quoted examples of ܟܘܪܣܐ, etc., we also learn that qâmēç may stand for a helping vowel. This explains the targumic form גָּוָן, the diphthongized form of the Persian gûn. This form is later easily mistaken for *qattâl* and explains the Hebrew form גַּוָּנִים.

§ 786. The recognition that the production of *ă* to *ā* is still a more or less living process in Aramaic throws light on the numerous cases mentioned in the preceding pages of this work, where we found unexpected qâmēç, and proves the correctness and reliability, in the majority of cases, of living tradition. I say "in the majority of cases." For I am not blind to the fact that in some cases tradition may be wrong; but the more I have worked in this field, the more my conviction has grown that mere *a priori* theories are worthless in this field, and then the more so when they are in opposition to authenticated tradition, even if that tradition be only oral. I am conscious to be in this regard in opposition to preconceived notions, but doubt not that those who will give the subject an unbiased and earnest investigation will finally come around to my way of looking at it.

§ 787. In the light of the above I want to point out that I do not consider forms like תַּמּוּנֵי, עוּבְדָא, and the like, as false, because the superlinear vocalization of the Targûmîm shows still a long vowel under the second stem-consonant. It is perhaps not superfluous to call attention to the fact that even as near a dialect as Palestinean Aramaic need not in every case agree with our Babylonian Aramaic, and that Babylonian Aramaic continued to live and develop for many centuries after Palestinean Aramaic had died out. Many of the corruptions of the current vocalization

of the Targûmîm are probably due to the influence of Babylonian Aramaic, with which the naqdânîm were more familiar.

NOTE.—The limited space at my disposal, as well as the nature of footnotes, have induced me to be concise in my etymological explanations. Sometimes I have limited myself to a mere suggestion. It is, therefore, hoped that students will examine the respective dictionaries before passing judgment on the proposed etymologies.

SUMMARY OF NOMINAL FORMS.

I. INTERNAL VOWEL CHANGE ONLY.

1. ONE SHORT VOWEL.

قُعْل.—§ 788. To the regular forms given below it must be added that, under the influence of adjacent consonants, *qatl* may pass into *qitl* or *qutl; qitl* into *qutl* or *qatl; qutl* into *qitl* (or *qatl?*). Thereby the original vowel may be kept under the first consonant in one form, and the derived vowel under the second consonant in another form, and *vice versa.* Thus we have יִתְרָא, יִתִירָא, *cord;* גִּדְאשָׁא, גִּדּאשָׁא,[1] *heap;* זִמְנָא, זִמָּנָא,[2] *time.*

§ 789. The laws under which these vowel changes take place cannot yet be stated with accuracy; but the following general rules may already be given:

1. *qatl* passes into *qitl* mostly in stems having a guttural as its last consonant, under the influence of שׁ, and in ע״ע forms, when the sharpened consonant is followed by a vowel.

2. *qatl* passes into *qutl* under the influence of labials, liquids, emphatic consonants, ג and כ, when these sounds directly follow the vowel.

3. *qitl* passes into *qutl* under the same conditions as *qatl* does, but less frequently.

4. *qitl* passes into *qatl* when its vowel is in a closed syllable before a guttural—but this happens only in a few cases—and under the same conditions and with the same frequency as *qutl* passes into *qatl.*

5. *qutl* and *qitl* frequently interchange for other than phonetic reasons, and, according to some, through *ü.* For *qutl* passing

[1] R. Nissîm, המפתח 32*b* = Sabb. 35*a.*

[2] *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 74.

into *qatl cf.* Barth, *NB.*, p. xxx. Whether forms like אגיא, אהלא, דפנא, for אוגיא,[1] אוהלא, דופנא, are to be pronounced with *ă* or *ŏ* in the first syllable, is impossible to decide.

qatl.—§ 790. *a*) אֶלֶף, אַלְפָּא, *thousand;* אַקְלָא *grain*, R. Nissîm המפתח 59*b* = תְּבוּאָה Ned. 55*a*;[2] בַּעַל, בַּעְלָא, *husband*, אַשְׁלָא *cord* = וַתַּל, Assyr. 'ašli; אֶשֶׁל may be a loan-word; גֶּבֶר,

[1] כי כסלא לאוגיא means: *like the* قِشْر *husk around the* عَجْوَة *date*, or *kernel;* that is, *very close.* From the same √ قشر we get كوسيلتا *lancet.* The ultimate root is قَشَّ.

[2] This word belongs to a widely ramified group, going back to a changeable root, قل, حل, خل, جل, كل. The first consonant of the triconsonantal stem appears in four series: labials, gutturals, dentals, and sibilants. The primitive meaning of the root is *break through, come forth*, hence *produce.* Then it was specialized to various kinds of plants and young animals. For the connection between plant and animal *cf.* פָּרַח, אֶפְרֹחַ, פַּרְחָה, Latin pullus and pullulare.

a) Labial series: بَقَلَ, Ethiop. baq^{u}ala, *grow, produce*, and derivatives; Assyr. buqlu *vegetables*, baqlum *sprout;* فَقَلَ *grow luxuriantly*, and derivatives; فُجْل, puglu and puqlu *radish;* وَقْل, مُقْل, *fruit of the Theban palm;* مُقْل, مُقْلا, *bdellium.* Here might belong according to sound and sense مَقِل, but the grammatical form points to its being a contraction of مَعْقَل = معقل. By way of Gegensinn: محل *be unfruitful;* مُتَمَحِّل *tree not bearing fruit.*

b) Guttural series; عَقَّلَ *produce grapes;* عُقَيْلَى *unripe fruit;* عاقول a kind of thorn; حَقْل *seed-producing leaves*, etc. *planted field* = حَقْلَا; رَكْل *leek;* رُكْلَة *bunch of herbs;* رِقْلَة *high palm;* كُولَة *barren.*

Leading over to the sibilant series are أَثْكَل, أَثْكَلَا, Eth. 'askal *cluster;* عَسْقَل a certain plant; عِثْقُول, إِثْكَال, etc., *palm branch with unripe fruit;* all with inserted sibilants (§ 46, note).

c) Sibilant series: Eth. sakala = عقل II.; سِخْلا *cluster;* زُقْلَة *cudgel;* صَوْل = جَوْزَل, גּוֹזָל, *young dove;* مَثْكَلَا, مَسْكَلَا, مسكل, *basket;* תַּחֲלֵי = שחלים, חַלְשָׁא, *garden-cress;* سُخَّل, תּוּחְלָא, inferior kind of date. By way of "Gegensinn": ثكل שכל תכל *be bereft of children.*

d) דּוּקְלָא *palm;* דּוּקְלָא *basket made of palm leaves;* دَوْخَلَة = חֲמֵלָא, חֲמֵלָא, שַׁחְלָא, שִׁיחְלָא, *date-basket made of palm leaves;* نُقْل *dried fruit;* نَجَلَ *produce verdure, beget children*, and derivatives.

גַּבְרָא, *man*, plur. גַּבְרֵי;[1] עלם *young man*, Sanh. 95*a* (= Hebr. עֶלֶם, or = غُلَام ?); נְהֵמָא, נַהֲמָא, *bread;* קַטְלָא *killing;*[2] אַפְחָזָא *levity;* תַּרְבָּא *fat.*[3] Plur.: אַפְרִין, אַפְרַיָּא, *respect, solicitude for one's honor,* אַפֵּירַיִן *our respect*, with helping vowel; אַמְטִי גַּמְרִי[ל] *entirely*, Assyr. gimru.[5] נַעֲשֶׂה עַל = אַפְרִין ל־;[4]

b) לִפְתָּא *turnip;* שֵׁיב *seven* (§ 50, 4); נשים,[6] נִישְׁפָּא, *dawn;* פלך,[6] פִּילְכָּא, *spindle;* רִישְׁפָּא *demon;*[7] תִּיגְדָּא = מַקֵּל *staff;*[8] plur. קִשְׁבֵּי C. MS. Meg. 7*b* (voc.); שִׁלְחֵי.

c) גּוּפְנָא *vine;* קוּרְצָא.

§ 791. פו״י: וַעֲדָא *assembly;* וַרְדָּא *rose;* יַרְחָא *month;* יַתְרָא, יִתֵּירָא (§ 788).

§ 792. ע״א: חוֹכָא *laughter* (√אחך = עחך*); כֵּיפָא, כֶּפָּא T. F., Ker. 6*a*) *stone;* עָנָא, עָאנָא, *small cattle;* פַּאֲרָא *ribbon;* רֵישָׁא, רֵאשָׁא, *head.*

§ 793. ע״ן: *a*) אַנְפָּא, אַפָּא, *face;* גַּזָּא *treasure;* plur. גַּבֵּי *at the side of.*

b) עִזָּא *goat.*[9]

[1] The plur. גִּיבְרִין, which occurs but a few times, is probably of Palestinean origin.

[2] With prothesis: אוּקְטָלָא *SM.* No. ccxx.

[3] √תרב is a secondary stem of √רב found in רְבִיבִים *rain;* רָבָב *greasy spot;* زُبّ *fruit-juice;* Tigrē rūbā *river;* Tña. revrevē *sprinkle with water.* Galla wâraba *draw water*, Amh. wadab *river*, Egypt. warem *inundation;* Bilin wârâbā, Chamir wirbā, *river;* Saho rōb *rain*, rōbāb *rainstorm*, rōbta *raindrop;* Somali rōb *river*, warabi *to water.* It is at least not certain that, as Gesenius' *Dict.*, 12th ed., asserts, רבב *be large* is connected with it. The same applies to P. Smith's *Thesaurus Syr.*, where it is connected with רבה *grow.*

[4] *Cf.* Samar. אפרי *thanks*, Heidenheim's *Bibl. Samarit.*, 5–6, index.

[5] The form is like Targumic לְקַדְמִין; the plural is frequently used in adverbial and prepositional expressions.—לְגַמְרָא (= كُلِّيًّا) *SM.* No. xxviii.

[6] The abs. and the constr. states are very rare. But, from the few cases that do occur, the conclusion seems justified that *qatl* gives less frequently a form קִטֵּל than the cognate languages. Whether a form like נשם is to be pronounced נֶשֶׁם or נְשַׁם cannot be decided by the material at hand. Such forms are therefore left unvocalized.

[7] *Cf.* רֶשֶׁם *demon* in the Hebrew text of Tobit published by Dr. Gaster.

[8] תגד is a secondary stem of אגד; مِعْصَم, of عصم; اجد = عقد.

[9] The word goes back to √עז = √ער with primitive meaning *be rough to the senses*, then *strong* in a physiological as well as psychological sense; from the latter the idea of fruitfulness is derived. Here belong عنز, معز, معر, وعر, يعر, زعر, شعر

§ 794. ע״ע: Nouns of these stems appear in two forms: *a*) regular, with sharpened syllable, and *b*) with resolution of doubling compensated by long vowel. Forms like מִילְלָא = מַלָּה *live coals* probably go back to longer forms.

a) בַּקָּא *gnat;* גּוֹ, גַּוָּא *inside;* גַּבָּא, אִיגְּלָא, *gate;* יַמָּא *sea;* סַרָּא, שַׁרָּא, אִיסְרָא (§ 91) *prince.*—Plur.: חַיֵּי *life.*

b) בָּר, בָּרָא, *outside;* דְּנָא *wine-jug,* Syr. ܕܢܐ, Neo-Syr. ܕܢ; סָא *awn, VL.,* Ḥull. 17*b* = שַׁעַע, on account of its resemblance to radiating rays. The usual form is סָאסָא, with reduplication; פַּאחָא *snare;* צַאנָא *basket, VL.,* Ber. 58*b,* צָנָא C. MS. Meg. 4*a* (voc.), traditional pronunciation צַנָּא.[1]

c) גִּידָא *luck,* גֵּדִי *my luck,* Sabb. 67*b*;[2] גֵּט, גִּיטָא, *document,* (Eth. g^{u}aṭaṭa = חַטֵּט); חִינְגָּא (= חַנָּא);[3] סִיפָּא, אֶסְיָפָא, *threshold;* פִּיתָא *bread;* צַד, צִידָא, *side.*

d) חוּנָא = חַנָּא.

§ 795. ע״ו: Nouns of these stems are of threefold formation: *a*) showing a diphthong; *b*) monophthongized to *ô, ê;* or *c*) monophthongized to *â.*[4]

= שִׂעֹר (but not שְׂעִירִים = שַׂעְדָּן = שַׂעְדָּנָה *light rain*), عَرَّ, عَرَّ *be scurvy,* عتر, عنس = عنص, and their equivalents in the cognate languages. Here be specially mentioned the names for goat: עַתּוּד = עַתְּרָן = מַעְזָ = יַעְלָ = עַתְרָ, all except the last meaning *shaggy.* On عَنْز *cf.* § 980, n. 1. עֲזָנִיָּה = عَنْس = عَنْص = Assyr. anzû = עוּזָא, and עַר, עַרְיָא, Assyr. aru, erû, kinds of eagle, on account of their rough plumage. מַזָּא, מַזָּא, מִכְּוָן, *hair,* Targ. מיעזי.

On interchange of ר and sibilants, *cf.* جعر = جعس, جثر = جثز, برس = برز, دحر = دحز, ربع = سبع, سماد = رماد, ضمخر = ضمخز, ضار = ضاز, طبر = طبز, طعر = طعز, طعس = عجير = عجيز, عرن = عثن, قحر = قحز, برد = مزد, مرخ = مزح = برح = بزح, مرن = مزن, نبر = نبش, نغر = نغز, نهر = نهز, نار = نازى = هبر = هبز, هُجْرَة = هُجْشَة, and many more.

[1] *Cf.* the spelling סנא *TR.* II., 13.

[2] *Cf.* ר׳ שלמה שרביט הזהב, p. 22.

[3] *Cf.* Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heid.,* 2d ed., p. 110, n. 1.

[4] *Cf.* Marti, *Gram. d. bibl.-aram. Sprache,* § 83*b.*

a) דַּאֲוּשָׁא *habit, VL.*, B. B. 22*b*; כַּוְרָא, כּוּרָא, or כַּוְאָרָא, *fish*;[1] אַיְלָא *ram*; זַיְנָא *arms*; שַׁיְשָׁא, שֵׁישָׁא, *marmor.*

b) מוֹתָא *death*; צוֹמָא *fasting, fast-day*; זֵיתָא *olive*; חֵילָא *strength*; עֵינָא *eye* (עַיְנִין *our eyes*, Sôtā 6*a*); סוֹם, סֵיפָא, *end.*[2]

c) דָּרָא *generation*; טָבָא *good*; סָבָא *old man*; בָּבָא *door.*[3]

§ 796. לו״י : Nouns of these stems appear in a fourfold form: *a*) with retention of last stem-consonant, *b*) with assimilation of last stem-consonant to the second and sharpening of the latter, *c*) with resolved doubling and consequent compensatory lengthening of first vowel, *d*) with entire loss of last stem-consonant.

Note.—Stems לא״ in all cases and לע״ when passing into לי״ are included under this head.

a) אַרְיָא *lion*; גַּדְיָא, גְּדְיָא, *kid*; טַבְיָא *deer*; טַמְיָא (by-forms טַמָּא, טַעְמָא), literally, *a being engulfed in, overwhelmed by, a sea* (*of trouble*), only in the expression בֵּי טַמְיָא *house of mourning*;[4] קַסָּא *bowl*, plur. קַסְוֵי.—חִוְיָא *serpent*; סִילְוָא *thorn*; סִיתְוָא *rainy season, winter.*

[1] √כור = Assyr. כמר (Delitzsch, *Assyr. HWb.*, כמר II.) *grow in abundance. Cf.* كَوْر *abundance of riches, large troop of wild animals.* The same idea underlies גּוּנָא, דָּג (Guidi, *Della sede*, p. 591) and سَمَك (√سمك = Assyr. שמח). Just as כמר I. is transposed in Assyrian to כרם, so כמר II. appears in the cognate languages as כרם, in Assyrian as כור (§ 961, n. 2), whence כֶּרֶם and כַּרְמֶל. From the same stem is derived the proper name מַכְמַר, מַכּוֹר, *Machaerus.* The form מְכָאוַר, to which the classical name goes back, may be a broken plural; but is more likely due to a process the reverse of that described sub § 81. This would also explain traditional גּוּבְרַיְנָא = גּוּבְרָאנָא *VL.*, B. M. 63*b*, 66*b*. For the form כָּוָרָא see §§ 81, 783; for כַּוָּארָא, § 785.

[2] סוֹם is used only adverbially. The same double form of this word appears also in Pal. Syr.—בְּסוֹפָא *ŠÇ.*, I., § 37; II., § 39.

[3] The word is perhaps a reduplication of בא *come, enter;* but, even if it be connected with √נבב, it is not necessary to assume with Hoffmann that it stand for *נְבָבָא, since ע״ו stems interchange with פ״ן. *Cf.* غَال *door-lock* and غَلّ = نَغْش ; قاس *compare* = נקשׁ (Aph'ēl), תְּקוּפָה and נקם, מְזוּזָה and Assyr. nazâzu.

[4] √טם (= תם, תן, טן, טל) contains the idea of *moisture.* Here belong: طَمَّ *be full and overflow*, طَمّ *sea*; طَمْطَام = غِطَمّ = غَطَمْطَم *high sea*; طَمْطَمَ *swim in open sea*; غَطْمَطَ *surge, heave, rush* (*water*); غَطْمَطِيط *uproar of sea*; תְּהוֹם = Assyr. ti'âmat *abyss*; تِهَامَة (*coast-land*); طَحَمَ *rush in mass and with force* (*water*); طَحْمَة *rushing mass of water*; تُخْم *chaos*; تُخَمَة *phlegm*; مَتْخُوم *sad*; طَمَى *rise, overflow*; طَمْل = طَمِيل *dirty water*; طَمَلَ *soil* (*with liquid*); طَمَغَ *be filled with*

b) קָרָא *pumpkin*, C. MS. Meg. 4*a* (voc.), plur. קָאדֵי *ibid.* (voc.).—קִיסָא, קוּסָא, קוּצָא = قَصًّا *village.* The form قَسَّة is probably an Aramaic loan-word. But *cf.* Beğa, kišo *small village.*

c) קָלָא = ʿmʾkʾn = Irob-Saho kālā *clay;* plur. חָשֵׁי *thyme.*—אוּנָא *lobe*, by-form עִינּוּנִיתָא, عَنًا, عَنَن, *side.*

d) בַּר, בְּרָא, *son;* זְנָא *kind.*

qatlat.—§ 797. *a*) מַלְכְּתָא *queen;* דִּבְרְתָא *booty, capture of cattle;*[1] כְּסִיפְתָא, כְּסִיפְתָא, *money chest;* רַחְמִיתָא, רְחִימְתָא, *love.*

b) אִנְתָא, אִתְתָא, *woman;* פִּדְעָתָא *wound.*

§ 798. ע״ע: *a*) אַמְתָא *cubit;*[2] חַגְתָא *pilgrims' fair;* כַּוְתָא *window;* פַּנְתָא, אֲפַנְתָא, *vamp, uppers,* فَنَن, Alg. Arab. فَنَّة, *dirty flux (eye)*; Tña. ṭemmeqe *baptize, rain uninterruptedly;* تَنِّين *waterspout;* Alg. Arab. طَمَّة = Assyr. ti'âmat = Eth. taman = Tña. temen = تَنِّين = תַּנִּים = תַּנִּין *dragon* (as personification of the sea); طِلْع = طِلّ *snake;* Pal. Syr. ṭmṭm = טמע = טבע *sink*, properly *be overwhelmed by water, be drowned;* طعم = Alg. Arab. طَمْطَم *taste*, properly *moisten with saliva;* ʿṭmṭmʾ *ore spumans;* طَلَّ = טַלַּל *moisten;* טִרְיָא = طلى = طنى *mud;* טַל *dew;* טִרְלָא = طِلَّة = طِلَاء *costly wine* (*cf.* our *mountain-dew* for whiskey, *golden fluid* for wine); طَمْث *menstruation;* طَامَّة = Alg. Arab. طَحَان = תְּוֹלָא = תְּוֹלַעַת *misfortune* (*i. e.*, overwhelming of troubles); طُومَة *misfortune, death;* طِلْعَة *death, burial;* Tigrê ʿaṭeme *lose his parents through death;* 'atîm = יָתוֹם *orphan;* مَأتَم *mourning, funeral, assembly of the* מְקוֹנְנוֹת; מָתַן *be wet;* طُلّ name for various liquids; تَلَّ *pour out, drip with perspiration;* تَلَّ IV. *liquefy;* تلّة *moisture;* תֵּל *heap of ruins*, properly *a place ruined by inundation;* تَلْع *hill*, properly *high wave;* Kafa tabye *mourning.* To the same root seems also to belong טָמֵא, Assyr. tamû *unclean* and Assyr. tem(m)en(n)u *clay-cylinder.* The connection of the idea of wetness and of that of sinfulness occurs also in other languages. *Cf.* Quara hŭet *wet, sinful.*

[1] Not *pestilence*, as in dictionaries; *cf.* Reifmann, *Bêth Talmûd*, V., 80.

[2] This word belongs to a semasiologically very interesting group, starting with the meaning *womb* (no matter what the primitive meaning of the stem might have been), and developing, on the one hand, into that of *woman, mother*, hence into that of *motherly feeling, love, pity, kindness*, etc., or into that of *kindred* and *progeny*, hence *fruitfulness and plenty;* on the other hand, into that of *receptacle, vessel, measure of capacity*, then *of length*, or into that of *midst, middle, inside.* In the following enumeration some of the links are missing: Mishnic Hebrew אֵם, Assyr. ummu, *womb*, אֵם *mother*, אוּמָּה *people, nation*, Assyr. ummânu *people*, ummâtu *army*, umâmu *animal*, emûmatu *kinship*, ammamum

branch (*cf.* פַּרְעֹה *branch* and פַּרְעֹה *uppers*); רַקָּתָא, רְוַקְתָּא, *shore, VL.*, Succā 26*a*.[1]

b) בָּוְתָא or בַּוְתָא, סְוְפָא, Eg. Arab. بَوْ, a kind of owl.

c) בִּיקְתָא *gnat;* גִּינְתָא *garden;* בִּיסְתָא *sufficiency.*

§799. עו״י : *a*) אֵימְתָא *fear;* חוֹבְתָא *debt, guilt.*

b) דִּירְתָא *residence;* עָקְתָא *trouble.*

§800. לו״י : רְשׁוּתָא, רְשׁוּתָא, *debt, permission;* חֵיוְתָא *animal;* בְּלִיתָא *rag;* אַלְיְתָא *fat-tail.*—קִרְיְתָא *city.*

a certain vessel, immu *treasure* (= אוצר), אֵם, אֻמָּם, *midst,* אִמָּה *favor,* אַמָּה *cubit.* The original meaning, *measure of capacity*, is still retained in אַמַּת בְּצָעֵךְ Jer. 51:13: בָּצַע is not measured by the cubit! It is a well-known phenomenon that words retain in certain constructions and phrases a meaning which has otherwise become obsolete.—Assyr. ipu *womb, love,* אִרְפָּה measure of capacity, Assyr. aptu *dwelling, man,* אַפְתָּא *balcony, tuber,* iptu *abundance.* The idea of *dwelling, balcony*, seems to go back to that of *receptacle;* while the meanings *man, tuber,* to that of *progeny* and *fruitfulness.* The relationship between both ideas is, therefore, different from that found in אָכַל, אֹכֶל. אוֹב = וַיְּבֵא = Vulg. Arab. أُبَّة. The Egyptian ip, ωπ, *count,* is denominative of אֵיפָה *measure.*—אֲצֵרָה *womb, good will, favor, grace,* אוֹצָר *treasury, store,* properly *receptacle;* אָצַר is denominative.—בֶּטֶן *womb, belly, midst, inside,* בַּטְן *clan, kindred,* בֹּטְם *terebinth,* Maltese boton *fruit, produce,* vulg. Arab. بَطْن *distiller's vessel,* Tña. meṭṭen *measure* (with interchange of labials).—בֶּדֶן *womb,* גֵּוְדָא *leather bottle,* גּוּד the same, *liberality, generosity.*—בֶּצֶן *womb, measure of capacity and of length.* Whether this word be Semitic or Iranian, in both it has this double sense.—זִכְרָה *belly, leather bottle.*—חֻבָּה *mother, woman,* חַוָּבָה *motherly love,* חִבָּה *love,* חִבָּב *wine-jug* (חבב = חבב).—חַיָּא *womb,* חַוָּה *Eve* has probably the meaning of *mother,* חַי, חַיִּי, *clan,* חַוָּה = Assyr. ummâtu *army,* חַוָּה = Assyr. umâmu *animal,* Irob-Saho ḫiiāu *people,* Tña. ḫeiāuāi *mild, affable, humane,* חֲוָיְתָא *bag.* אֵם כָּל חַי probably means *mother of every clan, i. e.*, of all human society.—חֻמְתָּא, חֻמְתָּא, *leather bottle,* Assyr. ḫamtu, sign of the feminine, must mean *womb, woman,* or both, חָמַת *cause to love* (in the pregnant expression: חָמַתְךָ אֱלֹהִים עָלָיו).—Assyr. kirimmu *womb,* kirēmu *leather bag,* kirummu *drinking-jar,* karâmu and derivatives (§795*a*, n.), כָּרַם *be kind, generous,* etc.—כֶּרֶב *womb, midst,* כֻּפְסָא *womb, vessel,* רִיקְבָּא, קִרְבָּה, *leather bottle,* קֻרְבָּה *affability.* Here may also belong קָרִיבָא *relative,* usually derived from קרב *be near* (קרב = רקב).—רֶחֶם *womb,* רַחַם *woman,* רָחַם *to love,* רַחֵם *pity,* רַחַם *kindred.*—תָּוֶךְ *midst,* תֻּפְסָא *leather bottle,* Somali deḥ *middle,* duḥ *vagina,* deḥ *generosity.*

[1] This may be explained either by √רקק passing into √רוק, a frequent phenomenon, or by diphthongization (§80); *cf.* זַבְלֻגֶן = *זַוְלֻגֶן = *זַוְלֻגֶן.

b) בְּרַתָּא *daughter.*[1]—קַרְתָּא *city.*—קוּסְטָא (= קוסתא) *village* (§ 796*b*).

qitl.—§ 801. אִיפְכָּא *reverse, opposite;*[2] גִּירְסָא *study;*[3] טֶהַר, טֵיהֲרָא *clearing;* מֵצְרָא *boundary;*[4] עִיבַר, עִיבְרָא, *yonder side;* פִּירְכָּא *objection;*[5] אֵיבְרָא, אִיבְרָא, *limb.*[6]—יִצְרָא.

§ 802. ע״א: *a*) בֵּירָא *well;* דֵּיבָא *wolf;* כֵּיבָא *pain;* פֵּירָא *fruit*, plur. פֵּירֵי C. MS. Pes. 104*a* (voc.); רֵימָא.

b) הֵידָא = הוֹדָא.

§ 803. ע״ן: plur. חִינְכֵי *cavity of the mouth.*

§ 804. ע״ע: *a*) נִיסָּא *miracle;* שִׁיבָּא *chip;* אַצִּיפָּא, אֲצִיפָּא, *matting.*[7]

b) טִיבָא *nature, character;* טִינָא *moist clay;* כִּיבָא, כִּיוָא, *roast, VL.*, Sanh. 70*a*.

c) טוּלָּא *shade.*

§ 805. ע״י: דִּינָא *law;* שִׁישָׁא, אֲשִׁישָׁא, שֵׁמֶשׁ, שִׁשְׁכָּא, *alabaster jug.*

§ 806. ל״י: *a*) טִיחְיָא *glazing;* שִׁיתַּאי, שִׁיתְיָא, *warp;* שְׁהֵי, פְּהֵי Meg. 13*b* = שִׁיהֵי פִּיהֵי C. MS. *ibid.* (voc.).[8]

b) אִישָׁא *fire;*[9] עֵילָא, עֵילָּא, *above.*

c) Some of the following forms may belong to *b:* בִּיר (= *bîrî* = *bir'î*) *my funeral repast* (§ 109);[10] פִּילָא *split;* שִׁינָא *mountain path, defile*, Sanh. 96*b*.[11]

[1] For דגש of ת *cf.* Kōnig, *HG.*, II., 1, § 172, 2 *sq.*

[2] *Cf.* Hebr. סְבָכוֹ, Targ. מִבְכָּא (Merx, *Chr. Targ.*, Glossary, *s. v.* בכא), and the traditional pronunciation of טַפְחָא. *Cf.* Kōnig, *op. cit.*, II., 1, p. 471.

[3] *Cf.* גְּרָאסֵי *TR.*, II., 50.

[4] Assyr. maçâru = baçâru *cut.*

[5] *Cf.* Kōnig, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Cf.* בְּוָרָא, זְמָאנָא, זִימְנָא, etc.

[7] The word is connected with Hebr. צַפְצָפָה (§ 966, n. 2).

[8] In Aramaic, as in later Hebrew, nouns ל״י of the form فَعْل retain their first vowel like those of ל״ו. *Cf.* רוֹפִי, שָׂיחִי for רֶפִי, שִׂחִי.

[9] *Cf.* § 864, n. 2.

[10] *Cf.* marginal note *ad loc.* This is usually translated *son*. *Cf.* בְּרָא *eat*, Ḫull. 87*a*, and Hebr. בְּרִיָה.—תִּינָא, plur. תִּינָאנֵי, תִּינָנֵי (= מָתְנִיתָא), *Igg. Šerirâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 12, from which a secondary form מִתִּינָא occurs, *ibid.*, p. 44.

[11] שִׁנָּא = شَنِّي. The word literally means *fold, wrinkle*. Since a wrinkle consists of elevation, slope, and depression, the word may denote any one of these configurations. Hence شَنَّة *mountain slope, difficult mountain path, defile, mountain ridge,* שִׁינְיָתָא *strand, sloping shore,* שׁוּנְיָתָא *embankment*, Assyr. mušannîtu = מָשׁוּנְיָתָא, for *mušanîtu.

qitlat.—§ 807. דִּמְעָתָא *tear;* פִּיסְקָתָא *plot, lot;* עֶגְלָתָא *calf;* כְּסִיתָא *coral* (= *כְּסִנְתָא).[1]

§ 808. ע״ן : plur. חִיטֵּי *wheat.*

§ 809. ע״ע : *a*) בִּינְתָא = סִבְּנָן, *hair, worm, fruit-stone, grain;*[2] מִילְתָא *word, thing.*

b) אֵמַּ[מְ]לָא, *cf.* §§ 77, 90.

§ 810. ער״י : בִּירְתָא *palace;* דִּירְתָא *residence.*

§ 811. לו״י : *a*) סְלִיתָא, Hebr. שְׁלִיָּה.

b) זְנוּתָא.

c) סִילְתָא or סִילְתָא = (1) סְלִיתָא, (2) סְלָוָא.

qut(u)l.—§ 812. אוּדְנָא *ear;* אוֹרַח, אוּרְחָא *way;* דּוֹבַר *back,* נֻזְקָא, Assyr. zumur, *body;* חוֹמְשָׁא; חוּחְקָא *hand-spike,* Bêçā 30*a*,[3] כּוּפְרָא, כֻּפְרָא, *ransom.*

b) קוּטְמָא *ashes,* גֻּשְׁמָא, גֻּשְׁמָא (§ 50, *g*); תוּלְתָא = תִּילְתָא.

§ 813. פו״י : יוּהֲרָא *arrogance;* יוּקְרָא *dearth.*

§ 814. ע״א : נוֹדָא *leather bottle.*[4]

§ 815. ע״ע : *a*) אוּשָׁא *foundation;* גּוּדָּא *wall,* Eth. gadgad; גּוּדָּא *bank, shore; cf.* גָּטַע; דּוּכְּ *place;* מוּרָא, מוֹר, מָר, *myrrh.*

b) שְׁתוּתָא (§§ 23*c*, 155).[5]

c) מֵיחָא (= מוּחָא) *brain, VL.,* Sanh. 95*a;* מֵירָא (= מוּרָא), *VL.,* Meg. 10*b*.—שְׁתִיתָא (= שְׁתוּתָא).

§ 816. ער״י : גּוּץ, גֻּוֹרָץ, or גַּוְרָץ, גּוּצָא, גֻּוְצָא, or גַּוְצָא, *short in stature,* Alf. B. M. 81*b* (§ 785); טוּבָא *much, very;* נוּרָא *fire;* שׁוּרָא *wall;* תוּמָא *garlic.*[6]

[1] *Cf.* Nöldeke, *ZDMG.*, L., 309.

[2] √בנן = אבן. *Cf.* Assyr. abānu = بَنَانَة *finger.* The stem shows the same double development as in Assyrian: (1) בִּינְתָא *something finger-shaped, long and thin;* hence, *hair, worm; cf.* Eg. Arab. بِنِّي *best Nile fish;* (2) *something protruding, hard;* hence, *fruit-stone, grain, seed; cf.* בּוּנָא *grain,* بُنّ *coffee-berries.*

[3] *Cf.* Brüll, *Beth Talmūd*, I., 13.

[4] This is probably connected with Eth. 'anadā *skin, hide,* which goes back to نَدِيَ *be wet; cf.* Eth. reṭūb. √נאד = √נדי.

[5] *Cf.* مَشْمُشَا, with quššāiā, Audo, *Dict. de la langue chald.*, Preface, p. ه.

[6] ثُوم means not only garlic, but a number of other plants. This shows that the word does not contain a characteristic of garlic, but goes back to the general idea of fruitfulness. It is, therefore, not improbable that the word go back to ثمر, and the line of development

§ 817. לו״ר : *a*) גּוּרְיָא *whelp;* דּוּמְיָא *likeness;* פּוּתְיָא *width.*

b) דּוּרָא *load;* טוּלָא *patch;* פּוּתָא, אַפּוּתָא, Assyr. pûtu, *forehead;*[1] plur. אוּפֵּי *twigs.*

qut(u)lat.—אוּזַלְתָּא, אוּזִילְתָּא, אִזּוּלְתָּא, *web;* חוּמַרְתָּא; כּוּסִילְתָּא *shoulder;* בּוּכְרְתָּא; חֻכְמְתָּא; עוּרְלְתָּא; עֲרוּבְתָּא.[2]

§ 818. ע״ע : אוּמְתָּא *nation;* גּוּלְתָּא *cloak,* כֻּבְּתָּא, גֻּלָּה, חֻלַּל; דּוּכְתָּא *place,* traditional pronunciation דּוּכְתָּא;[3] פּוּתָא, גֻּוָּה.

§ 819. ער״י : אוּרְתָּא *evening;* בּוּתָא, בּוּעְתָּא, *abscess.*

§ 820. לו״ר : גּוּרְיְתָא *cub;* plur. כּוּלְיָתָא *kidneys.*

2. Two Short Vowels.

qatal.—§ 821. *a*) גַּמְלָא *camel;* חַדְתָּא *new;* כַּרְגָּא *capitation tax;*[4] אַטְרַף, אַטְרָפָא, *leaf.*

b) עַגַל, עַגְלָא, *haste;* חַזְקָא *presumption;*[5] [לְ]מָחָר *tomorrow, later;* קַהֲלָא *assembly;*[6] שַׂפְמָא *mustache.*

c) בְּשַׂר, בִּישְׂרָא, *flesh, meat;* חִלְבָּא, Assyr. elapû; מִיטְרָא *rain.*

d) בּוּצְלָא *onion;* סוּכְלָא *fool.*

§ 822. פר״ר : וַלְדָא *newborn child, young;* יַבְלָא *cynodon.*

§ 823. ע״ע : גַּבְבָא *chaff, stubble;* עַלְלָא *gain;* עַנְנָא *cloud.*

might still be traced out. فوم goes back to *فون, which we find in أَفُن *bean* = فول = *ثول. The last stem comes through ثبل from ثمل, which is but a by-form of ثمر. The latter appears also as تمر (Guidi, *Della sede*, p. 583). It is not impossible that فول meant not only *beans*, but also *spices* = ثبل, if قَرَنفُول be an Arabic, or Aramaic, compound (and an Indo-Germanic origin has not been found for the word), properly *spice-horn.* But perhaps shortened from قَرَنْفُلْفُل. *Cf.* the compound دَارْفُلْفُل.

[1] Luzzatto identifies it with Hebr. פֹּת. *Cf.* my note in *AJSL.*, Vol. XIV., p. 130. The underlying idea for forehead in many languages is that of extent (width or height). *Cf.* Kluge, *s. v.* stirn, Arab. جَبْهَة, Eth. pheçem, Hebr. מֵצַח, must be = מתח, משח. Is رُمَّة, رُمَّة, connected with רום?

[2] עֲרוּבְתָּא Yalqûṭ, Lev. 647.

[3] דכך has the sense of ضرب; דוכתא = مَضْرَب. Etymologically connected, although on a different line of development, is Assyr. madâktu *camp.* *Cf.* Irob-Saho, dik *village.*

[4] So vocalized in *SM.* No. xxv.

[5] חֲזָאקָא *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 79; חֲזָאקִי *ibid.* § 546.

[6] Pal. Syr. ܩܗܠܐ probably = qihlâ.

§ 824. לו״י: *a*) טַלְיָא *young;* קַנְיָא *cane, reed;* תַּפְּיָא, תַּפַּיָא, גַּפָּא; רַעְוָא *good will.*—Plur.: עַלַיָּא *leaves;* שְׁמַיָּא *heaven.*

b) הַוְיָא, plur. הַוְיֵי (=הַוָיוֹת), *arguments, VL.*, B. B. 134*a*; סְעִי.[1]

c) אַבָּא *my father;* אַגְנָא = אַגָּנָא *bowl, VL.*, B. B. 126*b*; with prothesis: אֶסְנָא = שְׁגָּא = סְנֵה.—Plur.: תַּדֵּי *breasts.*

d) אֲבָא *father;* אֲחָא *brother;* חֲמָא *father-in-law;* יְדָא *hand.*

qatalat.—§ 825. *a*) חַדַתְּתָא, חֲדַתְּתָא, חֲדַתִּי, *new;* עֲקַרְתָּא *barren;* יְבִימְתָּא.

b) הֵילְכְתָא; חֻזְקְתָא *presumption;* אִימְרָא *border; cf.* Assyr. amartu and عَمْرَة *turban,* عَمْرَان *both ends of the sleeves.*[2]

§ 826. ע״ע: עֲלַלְתָּא *produce;* רִבְבְתָּא *myriad.*

§ 827. לו״י: *a*) הֲנַיְתָא *benefit;* צְלוֹתָא (=çalauṯâ) *prayer;* אַסְנִיתָא, אַסְיְתָא or אַסְיְנְתָא = אֲסַנְיָא.

b) אַמְתָא, אַמְהָתָא, *maid-servant;* שִׂפְתָא, סִפְתָא, *lip;* שְׁנָא, שַׁתָּא, *year.*

qatil.—§ 828. *a*) אַפְלָא *dark;* אַלְמָא *strong;*[3] חַבְרָא *companion;* כַּבְדָא *liver;* שַׁמְנָא *fat.*

b) אַפֵּילָא; גְּרִידָא *merely;* חֲבִירָא; כְּפֵילָא *double;* סְפֵקָא *doubt;* פְּסִידָא *loss;* קְדַר C. MS. Meg. 7*b* (voc.), קְדֵירָא, קִדְרָא, *pot;* רְחֵילָא *ewe;* שְׁמֵינָא *fat.*

c) לִיבְנָא *brick, VL.*, B. M. 116*b;* מִשְׁחָא *dimension;* שִׁילְטָא *grandee.*

§ 829. פו״י: יַבְשָׁא *dry;* יַתְמָא *orphan.*

§ 830. ע״ע: קַל; רַבָּא *great;* חַיָּא *alive;* קַשָּׁא *old.*

§ 831. עו״י: מֵיתָא *dead;* עֵדָא *witness;* עֵירָא *awake, living,* Sanh. 29*b.*

§ 832. לו״י: Here the forms cannot be distinguished from those of *qatal:* עַנְיָא *poor;* קַשְׁיָא *hard.*

[1] הַוְיָא, הַוָיֵי, *Igg. Šerîrâ,* ed. Neubauer, p. 4.

[2] For another etymology *cf. ZA.*, XI., 212.

[3] Adjectives of this form interchange with those of *qattil, e. g.:* אַלְמָא, יַבְשָׁא, קַלָּא, קַשְׁיָא, are used promiscuously with אַלִּימָא, יַבִּישָׁא, קַלִּילָא, קְשִׁישָׁא.

qatilat.—§ 833. *a*) אֲבִידְתָא, אֲבִידְתָא (*VL.*, B. M. 23*b*), *lost thing;*[1] גְּנִיבְתָא *stolen thing;* דְּבִילְתָא *fig-cake;* חֲבֵירְתָא *companion;* כְּנִישְׁתָא *assembly;* חֲשַׁכְתָא *darkness;* לְחֵינְתָא *concubine.*[2]

b) מְשִׁחְתָא *dimension;* תְּכֵילְתָא, תְּכִילְתָא, *purple-blue.*

§ 834. פו״י: *a*) יְבֵשְׁתָא *dry;* יְזֵיפְתָא *loan.*

b) דַּעְתָא *opinion;* חֵימְתָא *wrath;* שֵׁינְתָא *sleep.*

§ 835. ע״ע: *a*) רַבְּתִי *great.*[3]—*b*) מְרִירְתָא *gall.*

§ 836. לו״י: plur. קַשְׁיִירְתָא *date-stones.*

qatul(at).—§ 837. *a*) אָפָּא (=*אַפְּעָא) *hyena;* קַדְמָא, קַדְמִיתָא, *early.*

b) חֲשׁוֹכָא *late at night;* נְהוֹר (*sic*), נְהוֹרָא, *light;* קְדוֹמָא *early*, *VL.*, Pes. 8*b*.—Plur.: אֲחוֹרֵי *behind;* perhaps תְּהוֹתֵי; רְקוֹעָתָא *spotted.*[4]

qital(at).—§ 838. עִינְבָא *berry;* עִינְבְתָא, עֲנַבְתָא, *id.;* שִׁיכְרָא *mead.*—Plur. נִכְסֵי *property.*

§ 839. ע״ע: לִבָּא *heart.*[5]

§ 840. לו״י: *a*) רֵיחְיָא *mill.*—Plur.: מְעַיָּא *entrails.*

b) סְאָה *measure;* מְאָה *hundred;* מָאתָא *city;*[6] שׁוּם(מ), שְׁמָא, *name.*

3. Long Vowel in the First Syllable and Short Vowel in the Second.

qâtal.—§ 841. חָתְמָא *seal;* עָלְמָא, עָלַם, *world;* and perhaps מָרְגָא *threshing-sledge*, Yalqûṭ Lev. 459, Rašî Tem. 18*a*, and נָרְגָא *axe*, perhaps etymologically connected with מָרְגָא.

[1] The vowel after ד is a helping vowel and not the afformative ending. *Cf.* also עֲבִידְתָא *VL.*, B. M. 77*a*.

[2] On the etymology of this word *cf.* Fleischer *apud* Levy, II., 534*b sq.* A similar development shows פִּילֶגֶשׁ: فَلْقَس *miserly, ignoble, vile*, which appears in Eg. Arab. as سِلْفَاق *parasite* and goes back to قفل X. (Eg. Arab. فَلْقَس *lower the head* is denominative of قَفْلَة *head*, about which see § 966, n. 1), is the etymon of פִּילֶגֶשׁ. *Cf.* فَلَنْقَس = בֶּן פִּילֶגֶשׁ. From the meaning of the last word (*cf.* Lane's *Dict.*, *s. v.*), from the use of Hebr. פִּילֶגֶשׁ for both sexes, and from the contrast of פִּילַגְשִׁים (נָשִׁים) with נָשִׁים שָׂרוֹת (1 Kgs. 11:3), the development is not difficult to trace. The *ignoble, vile*, in a primitive community, where all members of the clan are equal, could only be applied to foreign slaves. פִּילֶגֶשׁ, then, means *slave*, male or female, married to a free person, or to another slave. As those used as concubines were mostly, or altogether, slaves, slave and concubine became synonymous.

[3] This is usually confounded with Hebr. רַבָּתִי.

[4] *Cf.* Barth, *NB.*, p. 13 *sq.*

[5] לְבַבְהוֹן, *Igg. Šerirâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 8.

[6] מַאתֵיהּ C. MS. Meg. 12*a* (voc.).

qâtil.[1]—§ 842. *a*) אָזְלָא *weaver;* כָּהֲנָא *priest;* סָהֲדָא *witness;* שָׁבְקָא *deceased;* שָׁפְכָא *gutter.*

b) With retention and lengthening of second vowel: חָטְטָא = חָטוֹטָא *digger;* חָכְרָא *tenant;* יָנְקָא ; יָנִיקָא = יָנְקָא ; כָּשְׁרָא = כָּשִׁירָא ; נָחְתָּא = נָחוֹתָא ; שָׁכְבָא = שָׁכִיבָא ; שָׁפְכָא = שָׁפִיכָא .

c) With change of first vowel—probably after shortening to *ă*—to *i:* אִזְלָא = אָזְלָא ; אִילְפָּא *ship;*[2] חִזְרָא , حَازِر , *bran;* נִיזֵי *seeds;* שִׁיבְקָא *testator, deceased;* שִׁכְבָא = שָׁכְבָא .

d) With change of *â* (= *ô*) to *û* (*ŭ*):[3] אוּגְרָא *employer,* Sanh, 29*a* = אָגְרָא Yalqûṭ Kings 222 = אָגוֹרָא *Še'ēlt.* § 54; אוּמְצָא = آمِص , عَامِص ; יוּבְלָא = יוֹבֵל ; עוּרְבָא = עוֹרֵב , Assyr. âribu; צוּרְבָא *young scholar;*[4] רוּכְלָא *pedlar.*

e) Hebrew loan-words: אוּרְחָא *guest;* מוּכְסָא *publican;* פּוֹעֲלָא *workman.*

§ 843. לו״י : *a*) סָחוּא *swimmer, VL.,* Yômâ 77*b;* אָסְיָא *physician;* סָמְיָא *blind;* שָׁקְיָא *butler.*—Plur.: בָּכְיֵי *weepers;* נָזְיֵי , Alf. M. Q. 12*b;* נְזִיתָא *seeds;* סָמְיָתָא , סְמוּתָא , סְמִיאָתָא , סְמִיוָתָא , *a blind one,* properly *one of the blind,* Alf. B. Q. 31*b* and Raši *ibid.*[5]

b) מָרְיָ (= *mârî'î,* § 109), const. st. מָרֵי , מָרֵי , *master, lord.*

qâtilat.—§ 844. *a*) כָּהֲנְתָּא *woman of priestly family.*

b) חוֹרְגְנְתָּא *step-daughter.* Hebrew loan-word.

§ 845. לו״י : *a*) אֲשִׁיתָא *foundation;* זְוִיתָא *corner;* חֲבִיתָא *keg;* נְזִיתָא *large vat;* נַזִּיקָא , נַזִּיכָא , נְעֻמָּן , נְעֻנָּן (= *naziîânatâ*); סָבְיְתָא *bar-maid,* plur. סָבְוָאתָא .

[1] The forms *qâtil, qâtul,* and *qattâl* are used promiscuously and interchangeably.

[2] Assyr. elippu = *ālipu as išippu = āšipu.

[3] *Cf.* עִזְרָא , עוּזְרָא = غَازِيَة (Merx, *Chrest. Targ.* Glossary) and Eg. Arab. فُرْس = فَارِس *Persia.*

[4] Phenician צרב *young* (of stag); √צרב = בצר ; צורבא = כֻּרְבָּא *attendant, follower, disciple,* German *Jünger. Small* as opposed to רַב *great, master, teacher.* (*Cf.* also Eth. daqîq.) Then, modestly, *scholar;* as תַּלְמִיד חָכָם for חָכָם .

[5] The proper name usually pronounced חַלַּפְתָּא *SM.* vocalizes as plural חַלְפַּתָּא , the correctness of which is borne out by the spelling חילפתא M. MS. Taan. 15*b*, 16*ab.* This is probably a participle and ought to be pronounced חָלְפַתָּא . On the meaning of this name *cf.* D. Kaufmann, *MGWJ.,* XLI., 337 *sq. Cf.* also לִילְיָאתָא *Lilith,* M. MS. B. B. 73*a;* חַדְיָאתָא = ܚܕܝܐ *SM.* No. CXIV = Gitt. 68*b;* עִזְקָאתָא (sing.) *ibid. Cf.* Hoffmann, *Ueber ein. phön. Inschriften,* pp. 17 *sq.*

b) מָרְתָא *lady*, Gitt. 12*a*.

c) Plur.: אוּשְׁרְיָתָא *foundations*.

qâtul.—§ 846. In assuming a form *qâtul*, it is perhaps superfluous to say that Hebr. *qâtôl* and Arab. فَعُول are not considered to have any connection with it. König's arguments (*HG*., II., 1, § 64) are not convincing for the following reasons: The occasional dropping of the first vowel in our current Targumic texts (and nowhere else) does not prove the original shortness of the vowel. It is due to Babylonian-Aramaic influence (§ 787). That language drops long vowels as easily as short ones; *cf*., *e. g*., עוּבְדָא, אֲמִירְנָא, for עוֹבְדָא, אֲמֵירְנָא. If the second vowel be originally *â*, no explanation is offered why, against all analogy, not only all Aramaic languages, but also the Arabic, have *ô*, *û*. While, moreover, in Aramaic *â* sometimes becomes ـَـ, that it becomes ـُـو in Arabic cannot be shown, even if the foreign مَاجُوج should be an uninfluenced transliteration. But see on that word § 933, n. 1. The question why the form קְטוֹלָא should occur only in Aramaic is easily answered by pointing to the prominent part the *u*-vowel plays in the Aramaic verb (§ 228). Furthermore, the lengthening of the second vowel in *qâtil* (§ 842*b*) makes such a process in *qâtul* not exceptional. That such lengthening should take place mostly in *qâtul* is easily explained by the special development in its meaning. Lastly, the existence of a form *qâtul* can actually be shown. *Cf*. هَارُبَانِيَة, بَادُوَان, رَاوُق, رَاوُل, perhaps also دَاوُد (but *cf*. Fleischer, *Kl. Schr*., I., 58); Persian كَازُر = مُغْ (Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud*., II., 42); סְהוֹדוּתַיְידְהוּ *Še'elt*. § 55. *Cf*. also Schwally's remark on Pal. Syr. ܡܫܦܘܠ (*Idioticon*, *s. v.* ܫܦܠ). That the *u*-vowel in forms with active force is secondary has so far not been demonstrated.

§ 847. Nouns of this form, when the second vowel is omitted, are not distinguishable from *qâtil*. It is only when that vowel has been retained and, of course, lengthened, that we can recognize it. The majority of the nouns of this form are *nomina agentis;* but some, as in *qâtil*, are concrete substantives. Nouns of this formation frequently take the ending ־אָה, without

change in meaning. This accounts for their taking frequently in the plural the termination ־אֵי.

§ 848. אַקּוֹשָׁא *hard* (אקש = קשי, as אקן = קני); בָּעוֹרָא *torch;* רָהוֹטָא *runner;* תַּנּוֹרָא = תַּנּוּרָא, M. Q. 11*a*.[1]—Plur.: דַּאקוֹרַיָּא *baskets, VL.*, Ḥull. 4*a;* עַמּוֹרָאֵי *dealers in wool.*[2]

Note.—Not here belong the Assyrian loan-words בַּשּׁוֹרָא gašûru, כַּנּוֹנָא kinûnu, פַּתּוֹרָא paššûru. The desire to preserve the foreign vowel (§ 84) and the popularity of the form קָטוֹלָא are responsible for this form. An instructive example in this connection is כָּרוּבִים = כְּרוּבִים. *Cf.* also § 933, n. 1.

§ 849. פו״י: יָנוֹקָא *child;* יָרוֹקָא *yellow, green;* יָתוֹבָא *sojourner;* יַרְוָאר, יַרְוָאר, סְנַוֵּר, סְנַוֵּר (Audo, *s. v.*), *ferule.* The by-form סְנַוֵּר suggests Egyptian origin. Is it Saho aûrāûr?

§ 850. ע״ע: חַטּוֹטָא *digger;* גַּשּׁוֹשָׁא.

§ 851. ער״י: דַּיּוֹרָא *inn-keeper;* רַוּוֹקָא *strainer.*

§ 852. לו״י: אַסּוֹרָא = אָסְיָא, *VL.*, B. Q. 84*a;* בָּנּוֹרָא *builder;* גַּבּוֹרָא *collector.*

qâtulat.—§ 853. יַנּוֹקְתָא *child.*

§ 854. לו״י: *a*) אַסּוּ, אַסּוּתָא, *remedy;* גָּלּוּתָא *exile;*[3] טָעוּתָא *error;*[4] יָאוּת (§ 160); מָטוּ, מָטוּתָא, *request.*—Plur.: סָבְרִיתָא *bar-maids.* This may be a corruption for סָבְרוּתָא; but, if it be correct, it would show the persistence of the typical vowel of the masculine form.[5] *b*) שִׁירוּתָא *repast.*[6]

4. Short Vowel in the First Syllable and Long Vowel in the Second.

פֻּעָל.—§ 855. Nouns of these forms frequently interchange with those of פְּעִיל;[7] less frequently with those of פְּעוּל and פַּעֻּל. Under the influence of an initial א or ע, or of an adjoining

[1] This word has not been recognized by commentators and lexicographers. *Cf.* Raši in Alfāsī, *loc. cit.:* שומר התנור . אמי תנורא.

[2] On the more usual form of a *nomen agentis* derived from an اِسْم جَامِد *cf.* § 951.—*Cf.* אַרְמוֹרָאֵי *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 21.

[3] Plur.: גָּלְוָתָא *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 27.

[4] Plur.: טַעֲוָתָא, read: טָאעָוָתָא, *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 436.

[5] On חָנוּתָא *cf.* § 84, note.

[6] Change of vowel due to ר. *Cf.* §§ 68, 273.

[7] This explains the difficulty Blau finds in the forms קְרִיָּא, קָרְיָא (*Zur Einl. in die Heil. Schrift*, p. 12, n. 1).

labial, or emphatic consonant, the vowel of the first syllable is frequently retained. Some of these forms, as well as other forms with long vowel in the second syllable, are frequently reduced to פֻּעְל-forms (§§ 92, 783).[1]

§ 856. *a*) אִינָשׁ (= אִינִישׁ) *man;*[2] אַרְתָּא (= אַרִיתָא) *lath;* אִדְרָעָא, אִדְרָע, *arm;* בִּרְעָא, בַּרְעָא, *leg;*[3] מְחָקָא, מַחְקָא, *erasure;*[4] נְשָׁארָה *MM.* Pes. 111*b* = נְשׁוּרָא, נְשׁוּרָה (§ 81); סְמָכָא, סַמְכָא, *reliance;*[5] plur. סוּפְלֵי, שְׁפוֹלָה, *kernels;* סְעָרֵי *barley;*[6] עוּבְדָא *deed;* אֶפְשָׁר *perhaps*, properly *hypothetically; cf.* פַּרְשָׁא, from פרש = פשר; אוּפְתָלָא *wicked, perverse, VL.*, Taan. 25*a;* שְׁטָרָא[7] *document*, c. plur. שְׁטָארֵי C. MS. M. Q. 13*a;* שְׁנָצָא, שִׁינְצָא, *purse-string, shoe latchet* (*cf.* שְׁנָאצִיהּ *VL.*, B. M. 26*a*).[8]

b) With secondary doubling (§ 44): אוּכָּפָא *saddle;* אֻכָּף; לִישָּׁנָא, לִישָׁנָא, *tongue.*

c) רְחוֹמָא, תְּהוֹמָא, Hebrew loan-words.

[1] *Cf.* Hebr. כְּתָב, כִּתְבִי, שִׁטְרִי, שִׁטָר.

[2] אִינָשׁ and אִינִישׁ occur in the singular only in the absolute state. With aphaeresis of א only in the expression בִּית נָאשָׁה (*TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 71), בִּית נִישָׁה (*HG.* 405), *her (his) parental house.* The development of meaning from *man* to *parent* is as follows: אִינָשׁ *man* as opposed to *child; grown man, adult, having right to self-representation and independence*, as opposed to *minors, dependent on their parents;* hence, *parents. Cf.* ... Bruns-Sachau, *Syr.-röm. Rechtsbuch*, L., § 8; ... *ibid.* § 25.

[3] כְּרָאעִיהּ *JQR.*, IX., 702.

[4] מְחָאקָא *ibid.* 701.

[5] סְמָאכָא *Igg. Šertrâ*, ed. Goldberg, pp. 11, 12.

[6] סָעֲרֵי ! *SM.* No. LXX (voc.).

[7] שִׁיטְרָא *HG.* 359.

[8] The stem שנץ occurs in Pal. Aram. as שנץ, in Pal. Syr. as ..., in Babyl. Aram. as שמץ (*ŠÇ.*, VI., § 22), in Hebr. as שנס, in Arab. as شنط, in Tigrê as šennete *tie the purse-strings; cf.* mošnet *purse-string.* All these forms go back to ק. شنف שנק changes on the one hand to a dental; *cf.* פקח = פתח, שקה = שתה, תְּמוֹל = Irob-Saho kumâl; on the other hand it becomes a sibilant (through č). *Cf.* عصل = عقل *be crooked,* علاك = علاس *edibles,* قبر = صبر, صلى = قلى, رمك = رمض, وَقْت = شَصَّاب = قَصَّاب, شبص = شبك, زلز = قلق, مَرْسَى = مَرْقًى, נְסְתָּא. *Cf.* also 'Omânee Arab. سِدْف = كِدْف.

§ 857. פו״י : יְמָמָא *day, daytime*, plur. יְמָמֵי *VL.*, B. M. 28*a*; אִיסָּדָא,[1] וְסָאד, وِسَاد, Eth. ʷaseid, *head-rest;* יְקָרָא *honor.*

§ 858. ע״ע : אִיצְצָא *pressure;* בּוּטְטָא *spark,* בנ׳ = דְּנוּרָא vulgar Arab. نَار ; בַּסָּה ; מְשָׁשָׁא *reality;* שְׁבָבָא, שִׁיבָבָא, *neighbor,* שבב/ו = שָׁבַן *be near;* תְּרָרָא *sniveling brat, chit* (√תְּרַר); דְּרָרָא *eventual loss* (√ضَرّ).

§ 859. עו״י : כְּוֹן כֵּיוָן; לְוָטָא *curse;* דְּיִישָׁא *threshing;* שְׁיָרָא *caravan;* אֲוָושָׁא *noise, VL.*, Ber. 58*a* (√عاش).[2]

§ 860. לו״י : *a*) מְלָאי *goods;* תְּנָאי, תְּנָאָה, *condition;* אֶקְרָאי *perchance.*

b) קְרָא, קְרָאָה, *Scripture;* plur. קְרָאֵי (and קְרָאיֵי), with retention of א.

פְּעָלָה.—§ 861. חֲמָרְתָא *she-ass;* צְלָחֲתָא, צִילְחֲתָא, *megrim;* plur. אֲבָנָתָא properly *fingers*, Assyr. ubânu, only in אֲבָנָתָא דְּלִבָּא *pericardium.*[3]

§ 862. ע״ע : אִיצְצָתָא *pressure;* שְׁבָבְתָא, שִׁיבָבְתָא, *neighbor* (= שְׁבִיבְתָא *VL.*, Sanh. 82*a*).

§ 863. עו״י : לְוָטְתָא *curse;* שְׁיָרְתָא *caravan.*

§ 864. לו״י : *a*) נְכָיְתָא *deduction, discount.*

b) אַחְתָא *sister;*[4] אֶשְׁתָּא *fire*, Assyr. išâtu;[5] חֲמָתָא, חֲמוֹתָא, *mother-in-law;* מְנָתָא *share.*[6]

c) חֵימְתָא *mother-in-law.*

[1] The spelling with א proves the word to be a loan-word.

[2] אוש occurs only in perfect and participle Qal. The dictionaries make it incorrectly Pa״ēl. For the etymology *cf.* also Tña. ʾaʷǒge *proclaim, publish.*

[3] Raši explains this correctly by טַרְפֻּשֵׁי. Now טַרְפֻּשָׁא דְּכַבְדָא = שִׁגְיוֹן וְיִסְרִין = אֲצַבַּע הַכָּבֵד = German "Däumel." *Cf.* Kohut, *'Ar. Compl., s. v.* חַצְרָא. Whether the singular had the feminine ending is at least doubtful. شغاف suggests that Hebr. שְׂעָפִים originally meant *pericardium.* Then, like כְּלָיוֹת לֵב, *thoughts.*

[4] אוּחְתָא *HG.* 454. On the *u*-vowel, *cf.* Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.*, I., index, *s. v.* أُخْت.

[5] Hebr. אֵשׁ comes from the same stem אשר and is a form like עֵיל(ל) *above.* If it have any connection with أُنْمُسَة it is only indirectly, انس and אשר being parallel stems.

[6] Plur. מְנָיָאתָא *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 343; מְנָיָאתָא *ibid*, § 546.

פְּעֵל.—§ 865. אֲהִינָא, אֲסִינָא, an inferior kind of date = עֻשָּׁן = עֻשָּׁא = עֻסָּא; דִּיצָא *pricking pain in the eyes* (√דעץ); טְעִינָא *load*, Sanh. 105*b*; עֲדִיפָא, *better*;[2] עֲוִירָא *blind*;[3] קְבִיעָא *fixing*, B. B. 86*b*; בִּישָׁא *bad* (√באש); perhaps אַנְזִיקָא *injury*, *cf.* נְזִיקִין; but it may also be = הֲזִיקָא.

§ 866. ע״ע: אִיצְצָא = אִיצָצָא; בּוּטְטָא = בּוּטָטָא; גֻּדְזָא *club*; כְּלִילָא *crown*; עֻסְיָא, עֻצְיָצָא, עֻסָּא, *flower-pot*;[4] אֲנִינָא *sensitive*, Eth. manana, Tigrê ʻonne, fanfane, *be disgusted with*.

§ 867. לו״י: נְבִיָּא *prophet*; צִי *chirping* (√צאי).

פְּעֵלָא.—§ 868. בִּישְׁתָא *evil, bad* (√באש); סְפִינְתָא *ship*; רִפְתָא, רִיפְתָא (√רפת), *bread*; עֲבִידְתָא, עִי; שְׁכִינְתָא.

§ 869. לו״י: נְבִיאֲתָא *prophetess*.

פְּעוּל.—§ 870. *a*) לְבוּשָׁא *dress*; פְּסוּקָא *verse*; שְׁלוּחָא *messenger*; גְּמוּר *perfect, thorough*; סָבוּר;[5] plur. שָׁבוּעֲיָא.[6]

b) With secondary doubling: קְדוּשָּׁא.

c) תַּרְוָדָא *spoon* (for *תְּרוּדָא, § 81).[7]

[1] √עשן = עשם = עהן *dry up*. These words belong to a numerous group with a changeable root עס, עש, غس, اس, etc., whose primitive meaning is *cover*. This shows the following development:

- *cover*
  - *comprimere feminam* → *wash* (غسل)
  - *dip into water* → *wash* (غسل)
  - *vail, faint* → *drown, ruin*
  - *obscure, grow dark*
    - *be discolored* → *dry up*, *become corrupt*
    - *cheat, wrong, oppress* (§ 887, n. 1).

אהינא, therefore, need not mean *dried up*, but may mean *discolored, corrupt* = آسن. *Cf.* Hebr. בְּאֻשִׁים. On interchange of gutturals and sibilants *cf.* § 26 and "Additions and Corrections" to that section.

[2] עָאדִים *JQR.*, IX., 694, 697.

[3] עור = Assyr. אמר *close up*; עֲוִירָא as opposed to פְּתִיחָא, פְּקַח *open-eyed*; טְמָטוּם הַלֵּב = כִּסֵּל לֵב.

[4] √עס *cover* (§ 865, n. 4) like חָבִיתָא, חָבִיבָא, from חבא, خبأ, *hide*; כִּיפְתָא *basket*, √כנן *cover*.

[5] סָאבוּר *Igg. Šerirā*, ed. Goldberg, p. 18.

[6] Hebr. שָׁבוּעוֹת.

[7] תַּרְוָדָא *spoon, bowl*; *cf.* Alg. Arab. مثرد *porringer*, مثيرد *small dish*, Maltese mafrad *earthen dish*.

§ 871. ע״ע : טְלוּלָא, אִטְלוּלָא, *sport.*

פֻּעֻלָה.—§ 872. *a*) גְּנוּבְתָא *stolen goods;* שְׁבוּעְתָא *oath;* שְׁמוּעְתָא *tradition.*

b) With secondary doubling: חֲנוּפְתָא; פְּתוּבְתָא; פְּלוּגְתָא *difference of opinion;* קְדוּשְׁתָא; and perhaps אִסְקוּפְתָא.

§ 873. ע״ע : Plur. קְצוּצְיָתָא.

§ 874. עו״י : תְּיוּבְתָא.

§ 875. לו״י : נְבוּאָתָא; plur. מְחוּיָאתָא *protests;* שְׁבוּיָתָא *captives.*

II. INTERNAL VOWEL CHANGE WITH SHARPENING OF SECOND STEM-CONSONANT.

1. Two Short Vowels.

פַּעַּל.—§ 876. שַׁבְּתָא *Sabbath, week;*[1] אִדַּר *threshing-floor.*[2]

פַּעֲלַּה.—§ 877. *a*) יַבֶּשְׁתָא *dry land;* סַכַּנְתָא *danger;* תַּקָּנְתָא *institution, statute;* שַׁמַּתָא *ban* (שמת = שתם);[3] פָּרַשְׁתָא *chapter,* C. MS. Meg. 4*a* (voc.).[4]

b) אִגַּרְתָא *letter;* נֶחָמְתָא *consolation;* סִיַּעְתָא *help;* שִׁבֶּשְׁתָא *mistake,* C. MS. Pes. 112*b* (voc.).

§ 878. לו״י : מַלֵּיתָא *complement.*

פַּעֵּל.—§ 879. אִילֵּמָא, אִילְּמָא, *dumb;* חִיגְּרָא *lame;* טִפְּשָׁא *fool.*—הַלֵּילָא.

quttal.—§ 880. תּוּחְלָא, שִׁיחְלָא, שֻׁכַּל.[5]

quttul(at).—§ 881. זִיבּוּרָא, זִיבּוּרְתָא, *wasp;* כִּיתּוֹנָא, כִּתּוֹנְתָא, *linen;* צִיפָּרָא, צִיפַּרְתָא or צִיפֻּרְתָא, צִיפּוּרְתָא, plur. צִיפְּרֵי, צִיפּוֹרֵי, *VL.*, B. B. 74*a;* שִׁיפּוֹלָא *lower part;* plur. שִׁבְּלֵי, שִׁוּבְּלֵי, שִׁבּוֹלֵי, שִׁבִּילֵי, Pes. 35*a* and *VL., ad loc.*[6]

[1] שַׁבָּא, like בֵּי and Targumic בִּירָנָן, plur. of בִּרְתָא = בִּרּוֹשׁ, are due to the ת being mistaken for the feminine ending.

[2] On אִמַּר, אִמַּרְתָא, *cf.* Schwally, *Idioticon,* p. 114.

[3] *Cf.* שַׁמּוּתָא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 1.

[4] Some of these forms may be originally *qattâlat.*

[5] For ת = س *cf.* תַּיְנָא = سِينَاء = סִינַי; תְּרָת = قُرس, and many others.

[6] *Cf.* Barth, *NB.*, pp. xxix, xxx, 24.

2. Short Vowel in the First Syllable and Long Vowel in the Second.

qattâl, qittâl.—§ 882. *a*) אַבָּכָא *game-cock, fighting-cock; cf.* Assyr. abâku *conquer;* עַרָבָא, עַרְבָא, *surety;*[1] קַצָּרָא *fuller, not ordained scholar;*[2] שַׁמָּשָׁא *servant, valet.*

b) אִכָּרָא *farmer;* גִּבָּרָא *hero;* עִקָּרָא *root.*

c) כַּמּוֹנָא *cumin;* צַנּוֹרָא. Both loan-words.

d) כּוּבָּס = קַצָּרָא, *SM.* No. xcv (voc.); סוּמָא *blind.* Both words are Aramaic transformations of Hebr. כּוֹבֵס and סוּמֶה.[3]

§ 883. ע״ע : צַלָּלָא *tanner* (= צַלָּעָא).[4]

§ 884. ער״י : *a*) דַּיָּנָא *judge;* דַּיָּלָא *servant;* שַׁוָּרָא *jumper;* טַיָּיעָא *Arab,* طَيِّئ.[5]

§ 885. לו״י : *a*) קָרָא *student of scripture;* תַּנָּא, תַּנָּאָה, *student* or *teacher of tradition.* Formed as ל״א forms.

b) בַּנָּאי = בְּנוֹרָא ; זַנָּאי ; רַמָּאי *cheat.*

qattâlat.—§ 886. ער״י : *a*) דַּיָּרְתָּא *female proselyte;* טַיָּיעְתָּא *Arab woman. Cf.* § 884, n. 5.

b) חִוָּרְתִּי *white.*

quttâl.—§ 887. אוּכְמָא *dark, black;*[6] סוּמָקָא *red; cf.* مُشْق *red chalk;* קוּרְאמָא, קֻרְמָא, *fennel flower* (?);[7] רוּכְּכָא *softening;* שׁוּנְרָא *cat.*

[1] עֲרָאבָא *TR.*, II., 50.

[2] *Cf.* Gaster's note to *SM.*, p. 43: "קצר tyro, young scholar not yet admitted to full honors, who has still 'to wash and cleanse' and do preparatory work."

[3] Bacher (*ZAW.*, XV., 301), who knew only of סומא, explained it to be a form like אוּכָם (§ 887); but this becomes untenable in view of כרבס. If the *u*-vowel be due to the influence of the labial, why only in these two words? To presuppose a form *qutâl* is equally impossible. It will, therefore, be best to consider it as a conflation of Hebr. קוֹטֵל and Aram. קָטָלָא, the ו necessarily becoming ו before a sharpened consonant.

[4] צַלָּעָא is not the same as צַלָּאָה. The first is *qattâl* of צלע, the last *qatlâi.* √צלע and √צלל are parallel stems. *Cf.* § 978, n. 1. סַרָּרָא (Saadia, *Traité de Succ.*, p. 126, n. 10), which the learned editors could not explain, is صَرَّار *pickpocket,* "Beutelschneider," from صَرَّ *cut.* The verb (*ibid.*), *cut, deduct.*

[5] The word is a conflation of the Arabic name and Aramaic טעא *wander,* with perhaps a reminiscence of √ضبع.

[6] *Cf.* عَكْمَس *be dark* (night); Assyr. ekkimu *oppressor.* On the connection between oppression and darkness *cf.* ظُلْمَة and § 865, n. 4; also Delitzsch, *Assyr. Hwb.*, *s. v.* אנץ, אכל, אשט, דאם, דנן, פשק.

[7] *Cf.* קָרְמִית *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 352 (voc.).

quttâlat.—§ 888. *a*) אוּכְמִיתָא, אוּכְמִיתִי, *dark, black;* סוּמָקְתִי; שׁוּנְרָתָא.

qattîl.—§ 889. These are all sharpened forms of *qatîl* and *qatil.*

a) חַכִּימָא *wise;* חֲרִיפָא *sharp;* יַתִּירָא *superfluous;* צַדִּיקָא; רַשִּׁיעָא; תַּקִּיפָא *powerful.*—זַבִּילָא *basket.*

b) אִילִימָא *strong* (= אַלִּימָא).

§ 890. ע״ע: חַמִּימָא *warm;* עַזִּיזָא *strong;* קַשִּׁישָׁא *old.*

§ 891. לו״י: בָּרִי *certain;* סַגִּי *great, much.*

qattîlat.—§ 892. אַלִּימְתָא; יַתִּירְתָא; פָּרִיצְתָא *dissolute;* שַׁגִּישְׁתָא *confused.*

qattûl.—§ 893. *a*) חַבּוּשָׁא a kind of apple; חַלּוּזָא *sinus;* חָרוּבָא *carob;* עַמּוּדָא *column;* שַׁפּוּדָא *broach.*

b) חִילּוּזָא = חַלּוּזָא; טִיבּוּרָא = טַבּוּר; גִּיּוּרָא.

qattûlat.—§ 894. חָרוּשְׁתָא *witchcraft.*

פַּעֻּל.—§ 895. אִסּוּרָא; בְּשׁוּלָא; גְּדוּפָא *blaspheming;* צִבּוּרָא *congregation.*[1]

§ 896. פו״י: יְסוּרָא *suffering;* יְתוּרָא *superfluity.*

§ 897. ע״ע: גִּידּוּדָא *steep embankment;* הִלּוּלָא *wedding feast.*

§ 898. עו״י: נִיוּוּלָא *ugliness;* דִּיּוּקָא *exactness;* קְרִיוּדָא, קְרִיוּדָא, *tartness, VL.*, Pes. 116*a.*

§ 899. לו״י: כְּסוּיָא *cover;* רְבוּיָא; שְׁנוּיָא *change.*

פַּעֻלַּא.—§ 900. נִיטּוּפְתָא *drop;* סִיטּוּמְתָא *seal.*

§ 901. עו״י: גִּיּוֹרְתָא *proselyte.*

III. PREFORMATIVES.

א.—§ 902. The א may represent merely a prothetic vowel, as in אֶצְבַּעְתָּא *finger,* אֶמְצַע *midst,* or may be a formative element. We are concerned here only with the latter.

aqtal(at): אַסְכָּרָא (√שכר); אַרְבַּע *four;* אַרְנְבָא, אַרְנַבְתָּא,[2] *hare;* אַדַּרְכְתָא; אַסְמַכְתָּא. The last examples may have originally been *aqtâl*-forms.—אוֹרַכְתָּא (√ארך); אוֹמַנְתָּא (√גמד).

[1] רוּכּוֹכֵירוּתָא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 377.

[2] Eg. Arab. plur. ارانب and ارانب. √ארנב = ארנב* = ארנב = ארנב *take fright and run off, be timid, shy.*

(= הֵימְנוּתָא) *VL.*, B. B. 8*b*.—אוֹדִיתָא (√ודי); אוֹנְיָתָא (√ינא). —אֲשָׁרָא (√שור).[1]

§ 903. With long vowel: אַשְׁפָּרָא, אַשְׁפּוּרָא, אַשְׁפִּירָא, *scourer of dresses;* אַבּוּבָא *flute* (√נבב).

aqtâlat.—§ 904. אִיבְּרִיתָא *funeral repast;* אוֹרַיְיתָא *scripture;* אַקְנְיָתָא *giving possession;* אַתְרְיָתָא *warning*, *VL.*, B. B. 21*b*.

itqâtal.—§ 905. אִשְׁתְּדְבָא *superintendent, steward.*[2]

ה.[3]—*haqtâl.*—§ 906. הַרְוָחָא *gain;* הַזְמָנָא *invitation.*

haqtil.—§ 907. הֶכְשִׁירָא; הֶסְפִּידָא *funeral oration;* הֶפְקִירָא *lawlessness;* הַרְוִיחָא *gain.*

§ 908. פ״ן: הֶכִּירָא *sign of recognition;* הֶקֵּפָא *enclosure;* הֶקִּישָׁא *inference from analogy;* הֶתֵּירָא.

י.—*iaqtûl(at).*—§ 909. יַבְרוּחָא *mandrake;*[4] יַחְמוּרְתָא *fallow-deer.*

מ.—*maqtal.*—§ 910. מַלְאָכָא; מַזְרָקָא, מִזְרָקָא, מוּזְרָקָא, מוּזְרָקָא, מְזַרְקָא, *jugular vein*, Alf. Ḫull. 93*b*;[5] מַשְׁכְּלָא, מִשְׁכְּלָא, *basket.*[6]

§ 911. פ״א: מֵיכְלָא *food;* מֵימְרָא *word, teaching.*—מָאנָא *vessel* (√אני).

§ 912. פו״י: מוֹקְרָא *crystal*, by-form זָקָר;[7] מוֹתְבָא *session;* מֵיטְבָא *best part.*

§ 913. פ״ן: מַגְלָא *sickle* (√נגל = נגר).

§ 914. ע״י: מִנְפָּא *fan;* מִישְׁרָא, מֵישְׁרָא, *garden-bed,* מְשָׁרָא. The Assyr. musârû, mušârû (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Wb.*, *s. v.* משר) is probably a loan-word.—מַחֲטָא *needle.*

§ 915. לו״י: מַגְבִּיָא *alum;* מַשְׁתְּיָא *drink.*

[1] Hence denominated אַשָּׁר *to vise, believe, i. e.*, take as authentic, as if provided with an official stamp; באשראי *on belief, on credit.* By-form of אשרא is שְׁאָרָא.

[2] From Tigrê šaiama *set over, charge with,* tašaiama *assume authority.*

[3] All these forms are Hebrew loan-words.

[4] But according to Brun, *Dict. syr.-lat.*, *s. v.*, this is a compound of ܒܪ + ܚܘܝ.

[5] This is connected with זַרְנוּקָא (§ 979).

[6] Hence Greek μασχάλη; *cf.* Lewy, *Semit. Fremdwört. im Griech.*, p. 21.

[7] Tigrê mōqar *quartz,* قَوَارِير *crystal, glass,* قَارُورَة, قُمْقُم, *glass bottle,* قُمْقُمَان *amphora,* قُمْقُم *massa argenti vel auri.* √זקר = זקר = קרר = נקר. Properly *dug, mined* glass, in apposition to *manufactured* glass. Reinisch, *Bilin Wb.*, *s. v.* kaġana, explains mōqar differently. *SM.* No. CLXIX has מְנַקְרָא.

maqtalat.—§ 916. מַשְׁפְּלָתָא, מַשְׁכִּילָתָא, מִשְׁכְּלָתָא, *basket;* מִדִּינַחְתָּא *east,* Pes. 111*b;* מַכְבַּנְתָּא = Eth. kanbalô, that which Arab. خِلَال, African kelâl, *a wooden peg to fix the hair, a hair-pin.*

§ 917. פ״ן: מַפְקְתָא *discharge;* מִתַּנְתָּא *gift.*

§ 918. ע״ע: *a*) מַגְרְדְתָא *strigil;* מַטְלַלְתָּא.

b) מִטַּלְתָּא, מְטוּלְתָּא, *booth;* מְעָרְתָא *cave.*

§ 919. ע״י: מְנָרְתָא *candlestick.*

§ 920. ל״י: מַשְׁרִיתָא *camp;* מַשְׁתִּיתָא *drink;* מַתְנִיתָא.

muqtal.—§ 921. מוּרְדְיָא, مُرْدِيّ, *pole to propel a boat.*

maqtil.—§ 922. *a*) מַלְבְּנָא; מַסְפְּרָא *scissors;* מִזְבָּא *gutter.*

b) מַסְרֵיקָא *comb;* מַגְזֵזְתָא; מַשְׁמִיטָא *sneak-thief.*

§ 923. פ״י: מוֹקְדָא; מוֹקְדָא *fire-place.*

§ 924. ע״י: מְנִיפָא *fan.*

maqtilat.—§ 925. מַסְפֵּרְתָא *scissors.*

§ 926. ע״ע: מַגִּילְתָא; מַסְכְּתָא *treatise.*

§ 927. ע״י: מְדִינְתָא; מִתִּיבְתָא *college* (יתב = תוב).

maqtul(at).—§ 928. מַהֲדוֹרָא *peddler;* מַשְׁמוֹטָא *sneak-thief;* מַשְׁתּוֹקָא *silence.*—[1] מְיחוּשׁ *pain;* מְדוּרְתָא; מְצוּבְתָא.

maqtâl.—§ 929. מַכְחָלָא; מַבָּרָא *ferry* (עבר/ן); מַעֲרָבָא *west;* מְסָאנָא (= מַסָּאנָא) *shoe.*[2]

§ 930. פ״י: מוֹדָעָא *declaration.*

§ 931. פ״ן: מַזָּלָא; מַקָּבָא.

§ 932. ע״ע: מַמָּשָׁא *reality.*

§ 933. ע״י: מָזוֹנָא *food;* מָחוֹזָא *city.*[3]

§ 934. ל״י: מַצָּיָא *quarrelsome person.*[4]

maqtâlat.—§ 935. מַכְחָלְתָּא.

§ 936. פ״ן: plur. מַטָּאראתָא *safes.*

§ 937. ל״י: מַטְחָאתָא *hip, loin;* מִקְצָתָא *part, some;* מוֹמָתָא *oath.*

[1] *Cf.* the interesting remarks of Rabbinowicz in *VL.*, Meg. 18*a*, n. 1. *Cf.* also המיסדרונה I., No. 930.

[2] *Cf.* מַטָּרָאקָא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 330; מַחָקָאלָא, *ibid.*, § 74.

[3] The form is due to the influence of קָטוֹלָא. To the same influence is due مَاجُوج (§ 846). On the "tyranny" in this form in modern Arabic *cf.* Vollers, *ZDMG.*, L., 627.

[4] Does this stand for נַצָּרָא with interchange of labials?

miqtâl.—§ 938. מִדְרָשָׁא *study;* מִנְהָגָא *custom.*[1]

muqtâl.—§ 939. מוּסְפָּא. A Hebrew loan-word.

maqtil.—§ 940. מַאְדִּים *Mars;* מוֹרִיקָא *crocus;* מַזִּיקָא *evil spirit.*

maqattalat.—§ 941. מְחַוְּרְתָא ; מְשַׁבְּשְׁתָא ; מְתַקְּנְתָא ; מְתָרְצְתָא.

maqattil.—§ 942. מְרַחֲמָא *friend;* מְשַׁוְּרָא *rover.*

maqattul.—§ 943. מְדַבְּרָא, *cf.* Kohut, *s. v.;* מַבּוֹרָא *ferryman* (= *מְעַבְּרָא).

maqâtal.—§ 944. מְסָאבְלָא, מְסָאבְלָא, *load.*

maqâtil(at).—§ 945. מְדוֹבְרָא ; מְסוֹבְרִיתָא *bar-maid.*

mattaqtalat.—§ 946. מִתּוֹכְלִתָא, מִתְּכִלְתָא, *eatables* (√אכל).

נ.—§ 947. נְכְתְּמָא *cover;* נוּקְשָׁא *spoiled leavened substance.*

צ.—§ 948. צְלוֹלִיבָא (§ 77).

שׁ.—§ 949. שִׁיזַבְתָּא *delivery;* שִׁלְפּוּחָא *bladder;*[2] שְׁעִבּוּדָא *subjection, slavery;* plur. שַׁבְרִירֵי *rays.*

ת.—§ 950. taqtilat: תּוֹסֶפְתָּא *addition.*

tiqtil(at): תְּאֵנְתָא *fig-tree.*—תִּיתְיָרָא (= תִּיתּוּרָא) *VL.*, Men. 35*a*. *Cf.* تِين.

taqtul(at): תְּסְפּוּרְתָא, תִּסְפֹּרְתָא or תְּסְפֹּרְתָא, *hair-cutting;* תִּיתּוּרָא *bridge* (§ 44).

taqtâl: תּוֹתָבָא *dress;* תַּגְרָא *merchant* (§ 50); תַּרְבָּצָא, Assyr. tarbaçu *yard.*

taqtîl(at): תַּבְשִׁילָא *dish;* תַּלְמִידָא *pupil;*[3] תַּפְשִׁיחָא ; תַּפְתִּיחָא ; תַּשְׁמִישְׁתָא *use.*

taqtûl: תַּרְגּוּמָא ; תַּלְמוּדָא.

IV. AFFORMATIVES.

ו״י.—§ 951. When a *nomen agentis* is to be derived from an اِسْم جَامِد it may be formed as any similar noun of the form קָטוֹלָא, *e. g.*, סָפוֹנָא *skipper;* תָּנוֹרָא *stove-maker;* עָמוֹרָאֵי *dealers in wool.* If the اِسْم جَامِد is itself of that form, an adjective

[1] מִנְהָאנָא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 67.

[2] √נפח ; *cf.* Hoffmann, *LCB.*, 1882, p. 320. But see Gesenius' *Handwörterbuch*, ed. 12, *s. v.* שׁפח.

[3] *Cf.* on this word, Meissner, *ZA.*, IX., 272 *sq.* *Cf.* also the proper name תַּחְלִיפָא, سمخلف *pudibundus.*

ending is added, *e. g.*, פַּתּוֹרָא *table* gives a form פַּתּוֹרָאָה *money-changer* = שׁוּלְחָנִי. But, in most cases, to the given form is added the ending וֹרִי, which is nothing but the final syllable of ל״י forms of קָטוֹלָא, leaving the original form of the word as much as possible unaltered. Thus, אַהֲלוֹרָא *dealer in* אַהֲלָא *Kali;* אַזְלוֹרָא, אִי, *dealer in* אַזְלָא, אִי, *spun yarn;* אִימְּרוֹרָא *dealer in* אִימְּרֵי *lambs, VL.*, B. B. 22*a;* נַפְטוֹרָא *dealer in* נַפְטָא *naphtha;* עַמְרוֹרָא *dealer in* עַמְרָא *wool*, Alf. B. B. 22*a;* צְדְרוֹרָא *dealer in* צְדְרֵי (Assyr. çudûru) *fine garments;* קַשְׁתּוֹרָא *archer, one that handles a* קַשְׁתָּא *bow.* The same principle is applied to מַבְּרָא *ferry*, giving מְבַרְּרוֹרָא *ferryman*, A. Z. 65*b* (Raši, *ibid.* אַבְּרוֹרָא[1]), for *עַבְּרוֹרָא would mean something else.[2]

־ִי, *aị*.—§ 952. The ending *aị* occurs in a limited number of nouns whose gender can rarely be determined from present data: אוּרְיָא, Assyr. amurrû, *west;* כּוּרְכְּיָא *crane*, Assyr. kurkû; נְדוּנְיָא *dowry*, Assyr. nudunnû; תּוּבְלְיָא *rope*, Assyr. tubalû; דּוּקְיָא *inference;* חִבּוּלְיָא *interest;* כְּנוּפְיָא or כִּינוּפְיָא *assembly;* מְדוֹכְיָא *pestle;* סַרְסְיָא *servant.* A few other nouns occur with or without this ending: אִסְקַרְיָא and אִסְקַרְתָּא *sail-yard*, שַׁמְנָא;[3] אַפּוּחָא and אַפּוּחְיָא *swelling;* דְּבוֹרָא and דְּבוֹרְיָא *bee;* מַזָּא and מַזְיָא *hair;* מִסְתָּא and מִסְתְּיָא *sufficiency;* שִׁיפּוּצָא and שִׁיפּוּצְיָא *repairing.*—אַרְעָא, עַרְאָא, *chance*, is Palestinean.[4]

âi.—§ 953. This ending serves to derive relative adjectives, appellative nouns, and gentilic adjectives from substantives, adjectives, and proper nouns. The masculine has mostly the forms ־אָי, ־אָה (at times contracted to ־א),[5] ־אָין, ־אֵי; the feminine, ־אִית, ־ִיתָא, ־ִיתָא. The masculine ־יָא is rare.

[1] *Cf.* מַרְחֶשְׁוָן = Assyr. araḫsamnu; אָרָס = Tña. marzi *poison;* מזליהר = אזלייהר *VL.*, Pes. 40*a;* אנן = Eth. manana (§ 866).

[2] In later literature we find an affortive וֹרִי attached to proper names, as אִסְקוֹרִי, פַּלְטוֹרִי, מָשׁוֹרִי, which is of Persian origin. *Cf.* about this termination Nöldeke, *Pers. Studien*, I., 4 *sq.;* Poznański, *RÉJ.*, XXXIV., 161 *sq.;* Steinschneider's *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, IV., 20, 153.

[3] For אסקריא we find also the form קְרָאסָא, R. Nissîm, המפתח, 3*a*, *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 14. This is the Hebr. קְרֶשׁ (Ez. 27:6). The word goes back to رشق *be slender*, رشّق *vibrate*, with various transpositions.

[4] תַּנְרֵי, תִּינְרֵי, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, index.

[5] *Cf.* § 83.

From בְּרָא *outside, country*, the adjective בְּרָאִי, בְּרָאָה, בְּרִיְיתָא, is formed. From גִּינְתָא *garden*, גִּינָּאָה *gardener;* from חַקְלָא *field*, חַקְלָאָה *countryman;* from אֲבוּלָא *gate*,[1] אֲבוּלָאָה *gate-keeper;* from קִרְיְתָא *city*, קִרְוָיָא *townsman;* from עִלָּא *above*, עִלָּאָה (= ʿiliâiâ) *upper;* from *יְחִידָא, יְחִידָאָה *sole*, חַכִּימָא *one pretending to be a scholar;* from בָּבֶל, בָּבְלָאָה *Babylonian*, רוֹמָא, רוֹמָאָה *Roman*, פּוּמְבְּדִיתָא, פּוּמְבְּדִיתָאָה *Pumbedithean.* In a few cases this ending is used interchangeably with *ân;* as סַדָּאָה = סַדָּנָא *maker of stocks;* עַנְוְתָאָה = עַנְוְתָנָא *modest man.* But more frequently both endings are combined. *Cf.* § 962.[2]

ִי־, ִיָּ־, î.—§ 954. This affformative occurs only before the feminine ending.

a) qatl: אַרְעִיתָא, אַרְיְתָא, *bottom, VL.*, Men. 11*a;* עַרְעִיתָא *hornet.*

b) qitl: בִּטְתִיתָא *caper;* בִּנְיְתָא *hair* (§ 809); בִּיצְיְתָא a kind of boat; עִלְיְתָא *upper chamber* (= ʿiliiiatâ); שִׁיצְנְיְתָא *female.*[3]

c) qutl: גּוּדְרְיְתָא *fencing in;* זוּגְיְתָא *glass vessel;* תּוּרְיְתָא *form* (§ 55).

d) q^{e}tâl: נְעָבְיְתָא *ostrich;* נְפָפְיְתָא *winnowing-fan;* אֶמְצָעְיְתָא.

e) q^{e}tûl: זְהוֹרְיְתָא *crimson;* סְרוֹקְיְתָא *caravan of Saracenes.*

f) quttul: זִיבּוֹרְיְתָא *wasp.*

g) qattal: כַּבְּרְיְתָא *sulphur.*

h) qŭttâl: חִיוְּרְיְתָא *white flour;* תּוּרְנְיְתָא *cypress.*

i) qittûl: חִיפּוֹשְׁיְתָא *scarabee;* חִיפּוֹפְיְתָא *scurf.*

j) maqtâl: מְצָבְיְתָא, מְצוֹבְיְתָא.[4]

k) maqtûl: מַסְתּוֹרְיְתָא *reel* = مُسَغَّرَة *skein; cf.* سفر VII.[5]

[1] This word seems to be of Kushitic origin and identical with אִירְגְלָא, גְלָא. *Cf.* Nuba agil *mouth, entrance;* Kulfan ogul, awol, aul, *mouth;* Kafa kellō *door, gate;* Chamir bilā, mirā, *gate, door;* Amh. bārr *principal entrance;* Galla kellā *principal exit,* balbatā *door, gate.* From the last form may come בָּבָא.

[2] Notice here מְנַבְּרְיְתָא, מְנוֹבְּרְיְתָא, *stewardess,* ʿAfar-Saho manābōytā, Tigrê manābbet.

[3] Assyr. siništu. On the etymology *cf.* S. Arab. שנץ = Hebr. נקב. On its synonym שְׁנִיְתָא *cf.* Parisot in *JA.*, IXe s., XIIe t., 132 p.

[4] צִיב, סִיב = Quara jāb *branch of tree, border of garment;* Amh. ťāf *idem.*

[5] סתר = سفر as ثُمّ = فُمّ, and as תלתל (in the Hebrew תלתלים) = فَلْفَلَ = סַלְסֵל *frizzle.* With חשמל, ماشورة (Löw, *Aram. PN.*, 56), it has nothing to do.

l) šaqtîl: שַׁעְמִימִיתָא *idiocy.*

m) šaqtûl: שַׁעְמוּמִיתָא *id.*

n) qatlûl: עַקְבוּתִיתָא *perverseness;* עִירְבּוֹבִיתָא *confusion.*

o) qalqal: כּוֹכְבִיתָא *Venus* (planet), גַּרְגְּרִיתָא, גַּרְגִּירִיתָא, غراغير.

p) maqalqal: מְבַלְבְּלִיתָא *mixture of white and black.*

ו, *û.*—§ 955. *a*) qatl: אִינְתּוּ *wifehood;* נַעֲרוּתָא *youth;* חַיּוּתָא *livelihood.*

b) qitl: בִּיעֲתוּתָא *fright;* מִיתוּתָא *death;* רִבּוֹא *myriad;* צִילּוּתָא *limpidness.*

c) qatal: אַמְהוּ *condition of being a maid-servant;* חַתְנוּתָא *intermarriage.*

d) qatil: *a*) חַבְרוּתָא *companionship;* סִיבוּ *old age.*

b) אֲבִילוּתָא *mourning;* שְׁלֵימוּתָא *perfection.*

e) qâtil: יָנְקוּתָא *youth;* סָהֲדוּתָא *testimony;* סָמְיוּתָא *blindness;* שָׁקְיוּתָא *drink;* רָמוּת *arrogance.*

f) q^{e}tâl: סָרְרוּתָא *dominion;* שְׁבָבוּתָא *neighborhood.*

g) qatîl: חֲשִׁיבוּתָא *dignity;* יְהִירוּתָא *arrogance;* מְאִיסוּתָא *repulsiveness;* בִּישׁוּתָא *badness;* חֲבִיבוּתָא *love.*

h) qattâl: גַּבָּרוּתָא *collector's office.*

i) qattîl: עַתִּירוּתָא *riches* (ע/ת is connected with it); קַשִּׁישׁוּתָא *old age.*

j) 'aqtâl: אַסְהָדוּתָא *testifying.*

k) haqtâl: הֵימָנוּתָא *trust, faith.*

l) maqtal: מַסְחוּתָא *bath.*

m) maqattal: מְעַלְּיוּתָא; מְפַנְּקוּתָא *delicacy.*

n) maqattil: מְנַקְּרוּתָא, מְנַקְּרוּתָא, *cleanliness.*

o) mitqattâl: מִיתְּבוּתָא M. Q. 2*a.*

p) qatlîl: שַׁמְנִינוּתָא *fat.*

ל.—§ 956. אַרְדִּילָא *mushroom,* plur. אַרְדִּילַיָּא, אַרְדִּלַיָּא; כּוּרְדִּילָא *shepherd's assistance,* properly *carrier* of the כֻּרְז *shepherd's pouch;* סְמָאלָא *left,* שַׁמָּאל, שַׁאמַל;[1] עִרְפִּילָא, עִי, *drizzling rain;* פַּרְזְלָא *iron;* קַרְסוּלָא, קַרְצוּלָא, *knee-joint.*[2]

[1] √שמא = סמא *be blind, hidden; cf.* Hebr. צָפוֹן. *Cf.* also שַׁמָּאל = שׁוּם = עַוֶר *bad omen.*

[2] *Cf.* Hebrew dictionaries. Bilin kiršim, Tigrê qilçem, Tña. kilçim, Amh. qilṭim.

מ.—§ 957. סוּלְמָא *ladder.*

ן.—*ân, ôn* (*ûn*), *în* (*ên*), *an*(?).—§ 958. These afformatives are used:

1. To form from verbal stems infinitives; as צַוּוחָנָא *to cry, VL.*, Ber. 20*a*; לְנַסַּיְנִיהוּ *to prove them*, Yalq. Kings 199 = Sanh. 101*b*. From this develop the following classes:

a) Abstract nouns; as מִנְיָנָא *number;* פּוּרְעָנְתָא *retribution, punishment.*

b) Adjectives; as דַּלְפָּנָא *blear-eyed.*

c) Nomina agentis with the sense of habitual action, occupation, etc.; as גַּזְלָנָא *robber.* This class is the most common.

d) Concrete nouns; as שִׁקְרָנָא *liquid.*

2. To change participles into appellatives, denoting habitual action; as מְדַבְּרָנָא *leader.*

3. To change concrete nouns into

a) adjectives and appellative nouns denoting the possessor of that which is denoted by the noun, with a magnifying sense; as שִׁינָּנָא *having large teeth;* בִּישְׂרָנָא *fleshy;*

b) adjectives possessing the quality of the noun; as תּוֹלְעָנָא *crimson;*

c) another noun with a metaphorical expression; as מַעְיָנָא *body*, properly *containing bowels.*

4. To change a proper noun into an adjective denoting relation to that noun; as קֵיסָרְנָא *Cæsarean.*

5. To change an adjective into a noun; as חַדְתָּנָא *something new.*

6. To strengthen adverbs and demonstr. pronouns; as לְהַכְמָן, הָכְנָן, הַתְּמָן.

ân.—§ 959. *a*) qatl: נַגְחָנָא *goring;* עֲבַרְיָנָא *transgressor;* טַיְּיזָן = טַיְּיזָנָא *arrogant*, passing into ל״י; הַוְקָנָא, הַיְקָנָא, הָקְנָא, *exact, VL.*, Men. 29*b;* רֵיחָנָא *fragrant;* עַיְינָנָא *large-eyed;* מוֹתָנָא *pestilence;* אַוְּנָא, תַּוְּנָא, *station* (נוי = וי); אַחְוָנָא; אִימְרָנָא *rebellion*, with prothetic vowel, or Aph'ēl? בְּגָנָא *potsherd, cf.* בֵּאל *scale,* חספא and חספניתא (§ 963, note).

b) qatlat: רֵיחָתָנָא *fragrant.*

c) qitl: אִסְתָּן *north;* גִּירְסָנָא *acquisition;* מְצִירָנָא *boundary;* אִילָנָא *tree;* תִּנְיָנָא *second.*

d) qutl: עוּלְבָּנָא *insult;* רוּמָּנָא *pomegranate;* פֻּלָּן; טוּפְּינָא *surplus;* סוּגְנָא, סוּגִּינָא, *twig.*

e) qutlat: סוּגִּיתָנָא *twig.*

f) qatal: חַדְתָּנָא *something new, VL.*, B. B. 90*b;* בּוּצְלָנָא; דִּיקְנָנָא *bearded.*

g) qatalat: עִינְוָתָנָא *modest.*

h) qatil: שַׁלְמָנָא *virtuous;* רַבָּנָא; רֵיקָנָא *empty;* עִדָּנָא *time* (= ʿaʿidânâ).[1]

i) qital: מַיְעָנָא *body.*

j) qâtil: מָרָנָא *master, lord.*

k) q^{e}tâl: אֲרָרָן a kind of sword, properly *something made of metal.*[2]

l) q^{e}tîl: אֲרִירָן *id.*[3] By-form אֲרִידָן (§ 36) = Kafa arijo *sword, dirk.*

m) qattil: קַבְּלָנָא *possessor of tradition;* רַחְמָנָא *merciful.*

n) ʾaqtal: אוֹרְיָן *teaching, knowledge.*

o) tuqtul: תּוּרְגְּמָנָא *interpreter.*

p) maqattil: מַלְּפָנָא *teacher;* מְדַבְּרָנָא *leader.*

q) maqtal: מַעְלָנָא *entrance;* מַפְּקָנָא *exit.*

r) maqtil: מוֹרְיָן *teacher.*

s) maqtul: מַצּוֹרְנָא *quarrelsome man.*

t) mataqtil: מְתוּרְגְּמָנָא *interpreter.*[4]

u) qautal: תּוֹלְעָנָא *crimson.*

v) qalqal: קַרְקַפְּנָא *big-head.*

w) qalqil: זַלְזָלָנָא *intemperate.*

x) qulqul: קוּרְקְבָן, Assyr. quqqubânu, *craw;*[5] שׁוּמְשְׁמָנָא, שׁוּשְׁמָנָא, *ant.*

[1] Intervocalic ע is weakened to א in הָאִידָנָא *now.*

[2] Eth. ʿarar *lead, tin;* Tigrê ʿarer *lead, tin,* ʿarâr *steel,* ʿarer *bullet* (lead or iron), غِرَار *point of lance, edge of sword,* غَرّ *metal bell,* אֲרָר *pen,* originally *stylus, TR.*, I., 31.

[3] All words of this form in the emphatic state are traditionally pronounced with שָׁוָא before נ; as אֲבִישְׁנָא, גְּחִילְנָא, פְּשִׁישְׁנָא, צְפִּידְנָא. This is evidently due to the retrogression of the accent.

[4] The *u*-vowel is due to the following consonants as well as to the infinitive form sub *o*. *Cf.* Pal. Aram. מְשׁוּמְשָׁנָא.

[5] קָרְקְבָן *HG.* 522.

ôn, ûn.—§ 960. *a*) qat(i)l: אַבְשׁוֹנָא *parched corn* (√אבש = יבש); אַלְיוֹנָא *thumb;* בַּרְיוֹנָא, Assyr. barânu, *outlaw, rebel* (√ברא = √מרא); בַּרְבּוֹנָא *current;*[1] אַרְבּוֹנָא *defective sight.*[2]

b) qit(ta)l: בִּזְיוֹנָא *disgrace;* עִוְרוֹנָא *blindness;* צִבְעוֹנִין *colored garments.*

c) qutl: דְּרְבוֹנֵי *goad-bearers;* but more correctly דָּרְבוֹנָאֵי.

d) qattâl: חַלָּזוֹנָא *snail.*[3]

în.—§ 961. *a*) qatl: אַחְרִינָא, אַחְרִינְתָא, contracted to אַחְרִיתָא, אַחְרִיתַי,[4] *another;* הַדְרִינְתָא *swindler;* וַרְדִינָא *rose-bush;* כַּרְשִׁינָא? *horse-bean;* צַפְדִינָא *tooth-ache.*—סַכִּינָא *knife.*—זַקִּינָא *swollen;* plur. בּוֹצִינֵי *young pumpkins,* C. MS., Meg. 12*ab* (voc.); אַחְוִינָא = אַחְוָנָא *kindling-wood;* קַרְיָנָא, חֶרְוָן, חֶרְיָבָל, Assyr. karânu, *wine.*[5]—פַּרְצִיפָּא (= parçîndâ = parçîntâ).[6]

b) qutl: גּוּרְסִינָא *acquisition;* טוּבִינָא *happy;* קוּפִינָא *hole;* שׁוּרְבִּינָא, שֻׁרְמָא, סֻרְמָא, Alg. Arab. سرْوَل, Assyr. šurmênu, *cypress.*

c) maqattil: מְרַבִּינְתָא *educator.*

d) qalqal: שׁוֹשְׁבִינָא *bridegroom's friend,* שׁוֹשְׁבִינְתָא *bridesmaid,* Assyr. susabînu; *cf.* שַׁבִּין *god-father,* שַׁבִּינָה *god-mother* (√שבב = שבן, § 858).

ר.—§ 962. עַכְבְּרָא *mouse.*[7]

[1] בַּעְיוֹנָא *Igg. Šerîrâ,* ed. Neubauer, p. 25, n. 10 = Pal. Syr. صخم.

[2] Bilin 'arāb *blind.*

[3] This word denotes five different species. *Cf.* Epstein, *Bêth Talmûd,* V., 299 *sq.*

[4] This must not be confounded with Hebr. אַחֲרִית, which is of a different formation. For דגש after ה confer אִיכָּא.

[5] √כרו = כרם, whence also kirê, qirê, *groves.* For a similar phenomenon, where מ is retained in the cognate languages, while having become ו in Assyrian, *cf.* תַּמּוּז = du'uzu.

[6] √فرص *kernel, fruit-stone,* is *that which is cut out.* Of the same origin is probably the ד in Hebr. סַרְפַּד and רַפְסוֹדוֹת. The last word Gesenius' *Thesaurus* connects, probably correctly, with رمث. For the variety of sibilants *cf.* Yemen Arab. رمص, Eth. rames; for interchange of מ and פ *cf.* زُمْبُوْ = زُفْبُوْ, طرمس = طرفس. But these words may be loan-words from Kushitic, where the feminine ending *ad* instead of *at* is common.

[7] √عكب *be thick-set.* The mouse is frequently called by a name denoting this quality and is, therefore, frequently synonymous with *muscle. Cf.* رَكِين *firm, solid,* رُكَيْن *mouse;* عَضَلَة *muscle,* عَضَل *field-mouse,* فَار *muscle, mouse;* hence medieval Hebr. עַכְבָּר *muscle.* The same connection between muscle and mouse is found in some Indo-European languages. *Cf.* Kluge, *s. v.* Maus.

Double Afformatives.

§ 963. With the exception of the few examples given below, double afformatives occur only with the feminine ending.

a) ânî: פְּלָנִיא ; גַּמְלָנִיתָא *large-sized;* הוּבְשָׁנִיתָא *honey-like;* חַסְפָּנִיתָא *scurf*, scaly appearance of the skin.[1]

b) înî: מַחְוִינִיתָא *indication;* כִּילִינִיתָא = פּוּלָנִיתָא *anemone;* plur. כָּלַנְיָאתָא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 352 (voc.).

c) ânû: עַנְוָתָנוּתָא *modesty, meekness;* רַבְרְבָנוּתָא *greatness.*

d) înû: גַּרְעִינוּתָא *fruit-stone.*

e) ânâi̯: plur. דַּרְבָּנָאֵי *goad-bearers.*

f) înâi̯: יַרְחִינָאָה *skilled in calendation.*

g) âi̯û: אַרְמָיוּתָא *paganism;* תַּלְמִיוּתָא *something furrow-like.*

h) A few words are pronounced with שוא before נ, *e. g.*, מָחוֹזְנָאָה *one from* Māhôzâ. Whether originally so ?

V. DIPHTHONGIZED FORMS.

1. Diphthong in the First Syllable and Short Vowel in the Second.

§ 964. *a*) qautal: מוֹרְגָא *threshing-sledge;* תּוּחְלָא = דַּוְחָלָה ; פּוֹדַנְתָא *mule;* תּוֹלַעְתָא, תֻּלְעָא, *worm.*

b) qai̯tal: דִּישְׁרָא = דַּוְשָׁר .

2. Diphthong in the First Syllable and Long Vowel in the Second.

§ 965. *a*) qau̯tâl: שׁוֹפָרָא ; שׁוּתָפָא (§ 23*c*).

b) qau̯tîl: מוֹרִיקָא ; מוֹרִיגָא .

c) qai̯tîl: [בַּיְילִיל Zeb. 118*b*; proper noun ?][2]

d) qai̯tûl: סִיבּוּרָא *cupping;* שִׁיפּוּרָא = שׁוֹפָרָא .

[1] חַסַּם = חָשַׁת = חשׁף *scratch, peel,* etc. Hence חַרְסָפִיתָא = חַרְשָׁף = חַסְפָּנִיתָא *scale,* חַסְפָּא *potsherd,* properly *chipping,* חַשְׁבִּיף *worn-out garment,* whose nap is scratched off. Assyr. ḫaçbu is loan-word. Similar development: בִּאגָּה, בִּגְא, *scale,* בָּגְנָא *potsherd;* חָרַשׁ, חֶרֶס, *scurf, potsherd,* חֲרִישָׁה *fine linen,* whose nap is gone. *Cf.* also Hebr. dict. *s. v.* קִשְׁקֵשֶׁת .

[2] שַׁוְיוֹלִיל = שַׁלְבֵּל = שָׁכִיל .

3. Diphthong in the Second Syllable.

qutail.—§ 966. אוּזְלָא *gazelle;* עוּלֵימָא *youth, young man;* plur. עוּלֵימֵי, and with disregard of grammatical form, עוּלְמֵי, Zeb. 116*b* and Rašî *ad loc.*

Note.—There are some words which are spelled like those above, but probably do not belong here; *e. g.*, אוּרְזָא = אוּרְזָא *rice;* רוּמְחָא = רוּמְחָא *speer;* בּוּטְיָטָא (§ 866). The second vowel in the first two is probably a helping vowel to ease the collocation of difficult sounds. *Cf.* a similar helping vowel in אֲבִידְתָא, עֲבִידְתָא (§ 833, n. 1). Similar formations in Hebrew and Palestinean Aramaic, belonging to various forms, are: בּוּדִידָה, שׁוּמִירָה; דּוּחִינָא, זוּנִיחָא, כּוּזִיבָא. Pal. Syr. ܟܘܙܒܐ, ܕܘܚܝܢܐ, ܙܘܢܝܚܐ, etc.

VI. Reduplicated Forms.

qalqal and similar forms.—§ 967. אוֹחֲרָא *net,* Assyr. ḫuḫaru;[1] אַסְפַּסְתָּא *lucern,* shortened to אַסְפְּתָא (*VL.*, Sanh. 74*b*, 93*a*, Yalqûṭ Dan. 1060) = فَصْفَصَة, فَصَّة; [2] גַּרְגִּישְׁתָּא, גַּרְגּוּשְׁתָּא, *clod,* shortened to גַּרְגִּיתָא *VL.*, Succā 26*a*; *cf.* Eth. gᵘaçgᵘeç and Maltese ġrix; דַּשָּׁא *door, gate,* Amharic daǧ, Eth. dêdê; דִּידְבָא, דּוּ, דִּידְבְתָא, *fly;* דַּקְדַּקְתָּא *tow;* plur. דַּרְדְּקֵי *young children,* נُغْنُق; טָאטָא, טָאטִיתָא, *broom;* כּוֹכְבָא *star;* כִּכְּרָא *talent;* לִילְיָא *night, SM.* No. xxv (voc.); נִיעָא *mint* (= נענע); סָאסָא, זָאזָא, *awn* = شَعَاع (§ 794*a*); סוּסְיָא *horse,* Eg. Arab. سِيسِي *pony;* צִילְצְלָא, צוּלְצְלָא, צִיצְלָא, צַלְצַלְתָּא, *turtle-dove;* קִיקְלָא, קִיקַלְתָּא, קִילְקַלְתָּא, *heap of refuse,* Tña. qulqulet

[1] *Cf.* § 77.

[2] *Cf.* פַּסְפִּירְסְתָּא (Löw, *Aram. PN.*, p. 96). The פ became א through ר (*cf.* وقر = فقر, פִּזְמוֹן = Eth. ṗâzêma *hymn,* Tigrê ṗonne = fanfane), or it was mistaken for the Egyptian article and dropped (*cf.* Vollers, *ZDMG.*, L, 617, 654). The fact that اسپست makes sense in Persian need not prove more its Persian origin than our "sparrow-grass" the English origin of "asparagus." فَصْفَصَة is a transposition of صَفْصَفَة, etymologically the same as Hebr. צַפְצָפָה, whose verbal stem is found in Eth. safafa *abound.* סוּף *reed* may also belong here.

declivity;[1] קַנְקַנָּא *jar;* קָקְיָא (= קעקעא) *throat;* קַרְקַפְתָּא *head;*[2] שִׁישְׁלָא, שׁוּשַׁלְתָּא, שׁוּשִׁילְתָּא, *chain.*

qulqul and similar forms.—§ 968. גּוּלְגַּלְתָּא, גּוּלְגּוֹלְתָּא, *skull;* ?כּוּרְכְּמָא *crocus;* קָדְקָדָא *elevation;* קוּרְקוֹר *raven;* שׁוּמְשְׁמָא, שׁוּשְׁמָא, *sesame.*

qalqâl, qalqîl, qalqûl.—§ 969. דַּרְדָּרָא *briar;* הַרְהוּרָא *bad thoughts* (√הרר); זִמְזוּמָא, טִילְטוּלָא, and similar forms; לוּלְבָא, לוּלִיבָא; שַׁרְשׁוּרָא, שִׁישׁוּרָא, *chain.*

qataltal and similar forms.—§ 970. חֲצוֹצְרְתָּא *trumpet;* אַקּוּרְקַרְתָּא, and shortened: אַקְרוֹקְתָּא, אַקְרִיקְתָּא, אוּקְרוּקְתָּא, חֻמְחָמָּא, עֻקְּפָא, *frog* (√עקר = קרר = קרק).

qutâltil and similar forms.—§ 971. כְּרוּמְשָׁא = כְּרֻמְשָׁא; plur. כְּרַכְתָּא = כְּרֻכְתָּא.

qatqâl, qatqîl.—§ 972. זַבְזָגָא *lizard,* وَزَغ. *Cf.* Maltese bażuġa *bogaraves,* zibbûgi *olive-colored.* זַרְזִיפְתָּא, זִרְזִיפְתָּא, *squirting.*

qatlâl.—§ 973. דְּוָלְלָא *clue, skein,* plur. דְּוָאלֵי Yalqûṭ Ps. 862 = Ḥull. 60*a* (§ 81);[3] זְדַהֲרָא *rich landlord;* שַׁקְרָרָא *infernal liar.*

qatlîl.—§ 974. הַבְלִילָא *stomach of an animal;*[4] וַרְצִיצָא *pullet in the egg-shell;*[5] זַהֲרִירָא.

[1] Halévy compares קִיקְלָא with Assyr. kigallu *lowland* (*cf.* Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language, s. v.*).

[2] √קד = קנד = קפ. For interchange of ن and ف *cf.* فكر = نكر. The primitive meaning was evidently *hollow out;* hence the correlative *be convex.* This explains all the derivatives of the root. The first meaning appears in קוּפָּה, קֻפָּה, *basket;* קוּפְרָא, קֻפָּא, *hole* of the axe; קוּד, מקידה, *pot, bowl;* the second, in קוּפָּא *cupola,* קֻפָּא *stony hill,* קָפָא *occiput,* whence the denominative קָפָא *be behind, follow,* קַרְקַפְלֵי = קַפְלָה *head,* קָדְקָד Assyr. qaqqâdu; קַדְקְדָא = קַדָּקָד, *elevation,* קַדְקַדְ *ascend a mountain* קְדָל = קַדָּאל = קְדָן; قُودَاء *high top;* Tña. qerqerti *occiput* = *qedqedti (§ 36).

[3] This word is given by the Syriac dictionaries sub. √דול, but it belongs to √דלל, a by-form of √דול. *Cf.* دَالَ *hang down loosely.*

[4] This is Tigrê ešbilō = Bilin šbilō *small intestines.*

[5] √ורס *lay an egg with one push. Cf.* رَكَبَ *to bring forth a child with one effort* and رُكْبَة *fœtus.*

qatlûl.—§ 975. דַּחְלוּלָא *scare-crow;* וַרְצוּצָא, shortened to רְצוּצָא; זְעֲטוּטָא, זְאטוּטָא, *young man;*[1] חַבְרוּרָא *chum, crony;*[2] רַחְשׁוּשָׁא *emotion;* שַׁלְפוּפָא Assyr. suluppu.

qutulâl.—§ 976. Plur. שְׁלוֹפָאפֵי.

VII. INFIXES.

§ 977. The infixed elements are: ב, מ, נ, ס, פ, ר, ש, ת. Some of these infixes have arisen from syllabic metathesis, others from resolution of doubling; still others come from verbal forms retaining סימני הבנין, as the Hebrew grammarians would say. Every case has to be judged by itself.

ב, מ, פ.—§ 978. צְלַבְחָא, צְלוֹפְחָא, *eel,* וְכַחְנָא, סַלַּוְר, סִלַּוְר, Maltese sallur, *σίλουρος* (Dozy, I., 673);[3] אֶבְזִנּוֹזָא; גּוּלְמִישָׁא;[4] עַרְקוּמָא, עַרְקוּב, *cf.* عَرَق *mountain-path;* פַּרְצוּמָא wine made of פּוּרְצָנֵי *grape-stones;* טַלְפָחָא, טְלוֹפְחָא, *lentils.*[5]

[1] √ זעט, זיט, like נער, نعر, denotes various animal sounds. זעטוט = נער. *Cf.* Alg. Arab. زعطوط, زيطوط, *ring-dove,* properly the *cooing* bird.

[2] The variant חברותא, which has misled our lexicographers, is not חַבְרוּתָא, but חַבְרָוָתָא *female companions.*

[3] The word seems to be Semitic. √ صل means *smooth,* hence *hard, bald, without vegetation.* Here belong צַלְבָא *tanned hide,* صَلَعَ *be smooth,* أَصْلَع *snake,* صَلْد *smooth,* صُلّاء = صَلْع *rock,* صَلْفَاءة *rock,* صَلْفَعَ = صَلْمَعَ = صَلْمَحَ *shave the head, smooth.* On interchange of ח and ר *cf.* Assyr. labāru *grow old* = لَبَحَ; شقر = شقح *be red;* شخير = شخيح *snorting. Cf.* Berber, تَسَلْبَحْت.

[4] גולמישא is connected with גלשושיתא and חלמיש. The explanation of these words, being too long for a footnote, will be given elsewhere. Secondary מ is also found in Hebr. חרמש, which belongs to حلش *cut with a sickle,* going back ultimately to حَشّ; in חשמל = خَرَاشَة *electron,* alloy of four-fifths gold and one-fifth silver, = Somali asli *amber.* Besides Eg. asem and Assyr. ešmarû, quoted by the dictionaries, belong here Galla asamaru *abbelire* and Arab. حَسَن and عَسَل *honey.* חשמל means originally *a honey-colored substance,* be it metal or some other material. Finally in סַמְדַר, סַמְדָנָא, = سراد, which denotes a certain stage in the growth of the palm. Names applied in the North to the vine are given in the South to the palm. *Cf.* إِثْكَال أَشْكُول, بُسْر بسّ, صَحْكُمَّة, صُحْفُكَة, and كرم *fig-tree* and *wine.* For סדר = سرد *cf.* Barth, *ES.*, index. For meaning *cf.* Galla saradó *green.*

[5] √ طلم = طلخ = طلخ = لطخ denotes the dirty brownish, greenish, livid, or grayish color of animal and vegetable matter. Hence طُحَال *milt,* طُخَل *coffee*

נ.—§ 979. גּוּנְדִּלִית *left-handed, ambidexterous, bustrophedon;*[1] גַּדְפַּנָּא = גַּדְבַּנָּא *rim;* גְּרוּנְדָּא *hard clod;* זְרוּנְקָא, זְרוּנָקָא *hose;*[2] יְרַנְקָא or יְרַנָּקָא *wine flavored with herbs;* סְבוּנָאלָא *load, burden, VL.*, R. H. 26*b*; סְרוּנְכִי (√ شرق); פּוּשְׁקָנְצָא = פַּשְׁקָנְצָא (§ 980).

ס, שׁ.[3]—§ 980. אֲסִיסָנָא (= אַסַנָּא); חֲלִיקוֹסְתָּא, חֲלָקוֹסְתָּא, סְלִיקוֹסְתָּא = סְלִיקוּתָא; סָרִיקוֹסְתָּא = סָרִיקוּתָא *comb;* קְלִיבוֹסְתָּא *hip-bone;* אַשְׁפָּפָא (§ 46); פַּשְׁקָנְצָא *she-raven* (فقس, فقص), literally *the egg-breaking bird;* ? פְּרוּמְשָׁא *service-tree.*[4] *Cf.* كرمُوس *fig-tree*, but Dozy has كرطوس !

grounds, طُحْلَب *Lemnacaea,* طُحْلُب *Mnium.* Denominative: بَلْطَحَ *flatten something convex, i. e., give it the shape of a lentil,* فَلْطَحَ *flatten like a cake;* hence طَلْفَحَ *make thin or fine* and its ضِدّ *stout, big.* From the last we get the shortened verbs فطح, فلط, طفل. Eth. ṭaflaḥt *something round and flat,* a silver coin; hence shortened ṭaḥala *flatten.*

[1] גּוּנְדִּלְיָא *left-handed* = 𐡂𐡅𐡍𐡃𐡋𐡉𐡀 (§ 842*d*) *left-handed, ambidexterous* = أَزْدَلُ *ambidexterous; cf.* Eth. gᵘadalāṭī *defectu laborans.* ازدل stands for أَجْزَلُ. The ج (= dž) loses its ž before ز and ل and ز are transposed. √ جزل *to cut; cf.* Italian *mancino.* On the connection between left-handedness and ambidexterity *cf.* عَسِرَ, which means both. Hence גָּזַל *to grab with both hands, rob,* and جزل *give with both hands, be generous.*

[2] *Cf.* Assyr. zuriqâti *implements of irrigation,* زَرَّاقَة *watering-pot,* زُرْنُوق *rivulet,* زُرْنُوقان *watering-machine,* Eg. Arab. دَوْرَق *long-necked water-bottle.*

[3] *Cf. ZA.*, VII., 179 *sq.*; *ZATW.*, XVII., 351.

[4] *Cf.* איסטלקי *Italian, VL.,* 'Er. 64*b*, פסתקא (= פתקא) *Igg. Šerîrâ,* ed. Neubauer, p. 31; אִיסְתַּסְרָא = אִיסְתַּסְיָא *ibid.*, p. 44 (but this may be an istaph'al form). Here probably belongs עשתרת *Ištar,* √ عتر, *goddess of sexual lust.* عِتْر = عِتْر (§ 793, n. 1) *rough, strong, passionate,* hence *fruitful.* From the idea of fruitfulness and plenty we have عَتَر *kid,* عَتَّر, Eth. and dialects 'atar *beans, peas, grain,* Hebr. עָתָר, עֲתֶרֶת, עשתרת, *abundance, increase.* عتر *kid* and *capers* may contain the idea of sexual passion; *cf.* Hebr. אברונה, the goat being known for lustfulness, and the capers may have been used as an aphrodisiac. עשתרות in עשתרות צאן may be identical with عتر *kid. Cf.* also Skipwith, *JQR.*, XI, 256.—From such a form as סליקוסתא has probably developed the Syriac independent suffix ـوثا.

ר.—§ 981. אַרְזִיקָא, אַרְזִילָא, *hammock* (√עזל);[1] אוּרְזִילָא *gazelle;* גַּרְדוּמָא *stump;* גַּרְמִידָא *cubit;* דַּרְגְּשָׁא *couch, bed,* Eth. medqâs; חַרְזוּקֵי; חַרְפּוּפִיתָא *scabs;* ? טַרְפְּשָׁא;[2] כַּרְבַּלְתָּא = גַּבְרָא, with dissimilation of last stem-consonant;[3] כּוּרְסְיָא *arm-chair* (quttal); מַרְגְּנִיתָא *pearl* = Eth. môgart *precious stone;* מַרְזוּבְלָא, נִבֶּל, *palm-mat;* סְמַרְטוּטָא, שְׁמָטָא, *rag;* עַרְטִילָאָה *naked;* קוּרְפְּדָאי = קִפּוֹד.

ת.—§ 982. אִתְכָּלָא *cluster* (§ 790, n. 1); זוּטְרָא (§ 56);[4] צַיְתֵרֵי, צִיתְרֵי, *savory, VL.,* Sabb. 128*a*.[5]

VIII. PLURICONSONANTAL.

§ 983. אוֹרְשִׁינָא, אֲוִרְשָׁנָא Assyr. aḫursânu;[6] אַמַרְכְּלָא or אַמַרְכָּלָא, Assyr. abkallu; אַרְיוֹךְ, Assyr. urmaḫḫu (= urvâḫu), *great lion;* אַרְדִּיכְלָא, Assyr. dimgallu (§ 50); אַרְמַלְתָּא Somali armali *widow;*[7] חַרְדְּלָא *mustard;* כַּרְפְּסָא, كَرَفْس; פַּטְרוּזָא *lean lamb;* שַׁרְקְפָּא, שַׁרְקַפָּא, *nest;* תַּרְנִגּוֹלָא, תַּרְנוּגְלָא, Assyr. tarra-nugallu, a compound of tarra *hen* and nugallu *king;*[8] תַּרְנְגוֹלְתָּא. Here belongs also אַרְיוֹתָא *lioness,* from a stem אַרְיוּ, אַרְוֵי;[9] נַהְתּוֹמָא *baker* = Assyr. nu-ḫatimmu.[10]

[1] For the double treatment of the last stem-vowel *cf.* Hebr. כַּרְמֶלִית with כַּרְמֶל.

[2] The etymology of this word is not certain. It has two series of synonyms. On the one hand, אצבע, חצרא, אבנתא; on the other, יותרת and نِبَاطَة. It may go back to טפש as well as to طَرَف.

[3] It is, however, not impossible that the stem is כרב, since כרב = קבר. *Cf.* Tña k^{u}orebtā *hill.* But *cf.* the spelling of קַרְבַּלְתָּאֵי *crested* in Jellineck's בית המדרש, VI, 109.

[4] The Ma'lûla dialect still retains the ע in זעוטא.

[5] √צער. *Cf.* أُمُور صَعَاتِر *difficulties, unpleasant things,* Maltese saṅtra *troublesome;* also صَعْتَر بَرِّي = نِدْغ and نَدَغَ = צַעֵר *offend with words.*

[6] The word seems to be a compound. The first half seems to contain Eth. aḫûr *ram,* Amh. aṷrā *male,* aṷrē *wild beast* = Eth. aruê, our אַרְיָא and גַּרְיָא. In the Kushitic languages the word, under various forms, means *son, daughter, child, youth, husband, man.* What is the other element?

[7] armali is a compound of (w)ar+ma+li *husband+not+having.* The Kunama drops the last element and says ermatā *no+husband.* To the Somali form go back أَرْمَلَة, אַלְמָנָה, אַרְמַלְתָּא; to the Kunama form, Phenician אלמת.

[8] *Cf.* Oppert, *ZA.,* VII, 339. Is modern Arab. تُرْغُلَّة *turtle-dove* connected with this?

[9] אוּרְיָא *stable* is probably connected with this stem, meaning originally *the place for the animals.*

[10] *Cf.* Zimmern, *ZDMG.,* LIII., 115; Halévy, *Rev. Sem.,* 1899, pp. 278 *sq.*

APPENDIX.

HYPOCORISTIC ENDINGS.

§ 984. Proper nouns end in יָא, אַי, ִי or ֵי, וּ or וֹ, and אָ־. *E. g.*, מְשַׁרְשְׁיָא, רְחוּמַאי, אַשִׁי or אַשֵׁי, אֵיכוּ, אֵיבוּ, אֲבָהוּ, חָנָא (for חַנָּא, § 794). Most or all of these endings occur also in the other Aramaic dialects and in Hebrew-Phenician.[1] In Amharic we find the endings *ê*, *û*, and *ô*.[2] The origin of these endings is still unknown.

GENDER, NUMBER, AND STATE.

§ 985. There are two genders, masculine and feminine; two numbers, singular and plural;[3] and three states, absolute, construct, and definite.

§ 986. The feminine ending, if the word-stem end in a consonant, is *at*, if in a vowel *t*; *e. g.*, בָּאוֹת (§ 798*b*), מַלְכוּת. The feminine ending has sometimes the force of a diminutive; *e. g.*, פְּתוֹרְתָא *small table*.[4]

§ 987. The absolute and construct states occur but seldom, the definite state, having lost largely its original determining force, being used instead.

§ 988. The termination of the definite state is usually אָ־, rarely ָה־; in a few cases, with *'imâlè*, ִי־ (§ 69).[5] The ending ִי־ occurs only in the following adjectives: אַחֲרִיתִי, אוּכְמֵתִי, זוֹטַרְתִי,[6] זוֹטִי, סוּמַקְתִי, חִוִּירְתִי, חַדְתִי and חֲדַתִּי, רַבְּתִי, and in the noun בְּרַקְתִי or בְּרוּקְתִי *cataract of the eye*.[7] Some of these words occur also with the regular ending אָ־.

[1] *Cf.* Hoffmann, *Ueber einige phöniz. Inschriften*, p. 34; Renan, *RÉJ.*, V, 161 *sq.*

[2] *Cf.* D'Abbadie, *Dict. Amar.*, *s. v.* gâbrû (col. 847).

[3] For remnant of dual *cf.* תְּרֵין, מְאָתֵין.

[4] *Cf.* also *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 34, and Guidi, *Gram. elem. della lingua amariña*, 16*c*.

[5] On the nature of the ending אָ־ *cf.* Barth, *AJSL.*, XII, and Lindberg, *Vergl. Gram der Semit. Sprachen*, I, 96 *sq.*

[6] *Cf.* זְטַרְתִי *HG.* 526.

[7] *Cf.* מִילְתָא = מִילְתִי *TR.*, II, 23, כּוּלֵי יוֹמֵי *the whole day*, *HG.* 221. *Cf.* also שְׁעִי = שְׁעָה *wax*, *TR.*, II, 58; תְּלָתִי *three* (p. 43, n. 1), רוּמֵי *hight*, השטרות ס׳ ed. Halberstam, p. 46; כְּמֵי *some*, *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 33, = כְּמֵיהּ *ibid.*, ed. Neubauer, pp. 23, 44. The ה shows that the pronunciation was צרר. *Cf.* § 989*a*.

PLURAL TERMINATIONS.

1. *Masculine Endings.*

§ 989. *a*) The usual endings of the masculine plural are: *abs. st.* [־ין], *cst. st.* ־י, *defin. st.* ־יא, ־י. *E. g.*, גַּזְלָנִין, גּוּבְרִין Sanh. 26*a*; שִׁתִּי *sixty* (§ 136); רַשְׁיָעֵיא Sanh. 46*b*; זוּזֵי *ibid.* 29*b*. In a few cases the ending ־י is diphthongized: נְשַׁיי *VL.*, Zeb. 112*b*, נְשַׁאי *VL.*, Sabb. 148*a*.[1] In some other cases ־יה is written for ־י, the ה being added to show that the pronunciation is *ê*, not *î*. This is quite common in later literature. *Cf.* בִּישַׁתֵּיהּ Sanh. 7*a*, אוּרְחֵיהּ, גַּנְבֵיהּ, *ibid.* 109*a*.

b) Not infrequently the ending of the definite state of the singular is retained before the plural ending. *E. g.*, יְהִירָאֵי M. MS. Meg. 14*b*, הַגְּיָרָאֵי *VL.*, Sabb. 110*a*, לִישָׁנָאֵי Keth. 91*a*, תְּלָאֵי Sabb. 110*a*. In some cases it is doubtful whether we have to read ־אֵי or ־אֲי. For nouns of the form קָטוֹלָא *cf.* § 847.

c) Very seldom we find the ending ־נֵי, ־נַאי. The following are all that occur: גִּיסֵּנֵי *Še'ēl.* § 92 = Ḥull. 17*b*;[2] נְגָאנֵי = כֻּשִׁי; סַדְנֵי *stocks*, Pes. 28*a*; סַמְנֵי B. M. 85*b*, סַמְנַאי *VL.*, *ibid.*;[3] סַקְבֵּנֵי ʿArûkh, Sanh. 98*a*; צַבְּרֵנֵי Gitt. 70*a*.[4] In words with this ending occurring only in the plural it is sometimes doubtful whether the singular ended in ־נָא or not; *e. g.*, שׁוּפְטָנֵי, צַוָּרֵנֵי.

2. *Feminine Endings.*

§ 990. *a*) The usual endings of the feminine are: *abs. st.* ־ן, *cst. st.* ־ת, *defin. st.* ־תָא. *E. g.*, בְּנָן *daughters*; דִּמְיָתָא *tears*, Sabb. 33*b*; דּוּכְתָא *places*.

b) Not infrequently we find the double plural ־תָן, ־תִין, ־תֵי. *E. g.*, בְּנָתָן Meg. 14*b*; צְנִיעָתָן Sabb. 140*b*; שִׁידָתִין *VL.*, Pes. 111*b*; חִיוָרְתֵי *VL.*, Sabb. 110*a*; נְבִיאָתֵי Meg. 14*b*.

c) In a few cases the plural ending is attached to the ending of the singular; *e. g.*, שִׁבְיָעָתָא *traditions*, שִׁפְתוֹתָא *lips*.[5]

[1] Notice כְּלַלַיִּין *Igg. Šerirâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 28.

[2] גִּיסָּנֵי, ʿĀnān, *MWJ.*, 1893, p. 226.

[3] סַמְמָאנֵי *JQR.*, IX, 701.

[4] שׁוּתָּאנֵי *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 550, תּוּלְתָּאנֵי *ibid.* רַבָּנָן is Palestinean.

[5] אוּרְתָּא *HG.* 140; מַסְכְּתָתָא *ibid.* 265; הִילְכָתָאתְהוֹן *Igg. Šerirâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 19. From these forms we get a singular with two ת's: אִימַּתְתָּא, שְׁמַעְתָּתָא *Še'ēl.*, § 8; כִּיסְּתָתָא Sabb. 134*a*.

d) The endings ־וֹתָא, ־יָתָא (יוֹתָא), which are regular in feminine nouns from ל״וי-stems, are also taken by the following nouns:

α) Nouns ending in ־וּתָא, ־יָתָא, ־יָתָא; as אַתְרְוָתָא *localities*, בְּטִיתָא *capers*, קַדְמָיְיתָא *first*, from אַתְרוּתָא, בְּטִיתָא, קַדְמָיְיתָא.

β) Masculine participial nouns from לו״י; as אַסְוָתָא, רְעָוָתָא, מְרְוָתָא, from אַסְיָא, רְעָיָא, מְרְיָא*.

γ) A number of other nouns, with or without feminine ending in the singular, which cannot be classified; as חַבְרְוָתָא, נַהֲרְוָתָא, from חַבִּירְתָּא, נַהֲרָא. *Cf.* § 992.

δ) A few nouns ending in a labial show in the plural the ending ־הָתָא instead of ־וָתָא, ־תָא: אֲבָהָתָא *fathers, parents*, אִמָּהָתָא *mothers*, אַמְהָתָא *maid-servants*, אַמְּהָתָא *cubits*, אַטְמְהָתָא, אַטְמָתָא, *flanks*, שְׁמְהָתָא *names*.

ε) In a few cases it is impossible to decide whether the plural ending is ־וָתָא, ־יָתָא or ־וֹתָא, ־יוֹתָא, אֶצְבְּעוֹתֵיהּ or אֶצְבְּעָתֵיהּ, E. Y., A. Z. 29*a*, פַּרְשִׁיּוֹתַיְיכוּ or פַּרְשִׁיּוֹתֵיכוּ, Ber. 8*b*, תְּקוּפּוֹתָא or תְּקוּפָתָא, Ḥull. 60*b*.[1]

Formation of the Plural.—§ 991. Nouns with long vowels, with formative elements, or with sharpened second stem-consonant, undergo no change in the plural. Nouns of the forms פָּעֵל, פָּעֵל show sometimes in the plural a full vowel, or a trace of a vowel. *E. g.*, מַלְכֵי, אַלְפֵי, עַמְמֵי, פְּנָאדֵי (Alf. B. Q. 27*b*).[2]

§ 992. The following is a list of nouns having an irregular plural, or several plural forms. The list is not exhaustive, though nearly so. The qâtul-forms ending in ־אֵי (§ 847) and the nouns ending in ־נֵי (§ 989) are not included here:

אֲבָהָתָא—אֲבָא	נְשֵׁאי, נְשֵׁי—אֲנָתָא
אוּרְתָּא[3]	־וָתָא, ־תָא—אֶצְבְּעָתָא (§ 989 *d*, *ε*)
אַחָתָא, אַחְוָתָא—אֲחָתָא	בּוּעֵי—בּוּעָתָא[4]
אַחְיוֹתָא	בִּיעֵי—בֵּיעָתָא
־הָתָא, ־תָא, ־י—אַטְמָא	בִּישׁוּתִין—בִּישׁוּתָא
־וָתָא, ־תָא—אוּכְמֵתֵי	בָּתֵי—בֵּיתָא
אִמְּהָתָא—אִמָּא	בְּנֵי, בְּרֵי—בְּרָא (*VL.*, Sanh. 17*b*)
־תֵי, ־הָתָא, ־ין—אַמְתָא	

[1] בנותיה *his daughters*, *Hal. Pes.*, § 88.

[2] *Cf.* § 783.—גְּרָאסֵי *variants*, *TR.*, II, 50.

[3] אוּרְתָּא *HG.* 140.

[4] בּוּרֵי *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 331.

־אֵי, ־י—חוּשְׁלָא

טְחֵי, טְחֵוִי, טְחָאֵי—טְחָאי

טֵיבוּתִין—טֵיבוּתָא

־אִי, ־ִין—טַפְשָׁא

־אִין, ־ִין—יְהִירָא

כּוֹדַנְיִיתָא—כּוֹדַנְתָּא

כַּוִּי—כַּוִּיתָא

כִּילֵי—כִּילְתָּא

כַּלְמֵי—כַּלְמִיתָא

כְּנִישְׁתֵי—כְּנִישְׁתָּא

כַּסְתָּא, ־יְתָא, ־תָא—כּוֹסְתָּא

־יְתָא, ־תָא—כַּרְסָא

־תָא, ־י—כַּרְשָׁא

לִיבְנֵי—לְבִינְתָּא

־וְתָא—לֵילֵי—לֵילְיָא *at night*, ־תָא[4]

־אֵי, ־תָא—מְגִילְתָּא

־י, ־תָא—מְזוּזְתָּא

(חצל = חצר) ־יָא—מַחֲצַלְתָּא

מִילֵי—מִילְתָּא

מַסְכְּתֵי[5]—מַסְכְּתָּא

־י, ־תָא—מְצוּתָא

מַתְנִיתָיָא, מַתְנִיתָא—מַתְנִיתָא

־וְתָא, ־תָא—נַהֲרָא

־יְתָא—נִישׁוּפְתָּא

־תָא—נַחְלָא

סָאוֵי, סְאִין—סְאָה

בְּנָתָן, בְּנָתָא (*c.* בַּת)—בְּרַתָּא

בְּרִית (M. MS. B. M. 39*b*).[1]

־וְתָא, ־תָא—גְּבִרְתָּא

דִּישָׁאֵי—דִּישָׁא

דּוּכְתָּא[2]—דּוּכְתָּא

דִּפְנָתָא—[דּוּפְנָא]

דִּיקְלָאֵי—דִּיקְלָא *baskets*

־תָא, ־וֵי, ־יֵי—דִּיקְלָא *palms*

הִילְכְתָא[3]—הִילְכְתָא

־תֵי, ־תָא—זוֹטַרְתֵי

חֲבִירִין, חַבְרִין—חַבְרָא

חַבְרוּתָא—חֲבִירְתָּא

חַבְרוּתָא—חֵיוְתָא M. MS. B. M. 83*b*, חִיוָתָא

־תֵי, ־תָא—חִיוּרְתֵי

־אֵי, ־י—חַזְנָא

־אֵי, ־י—חַמְרָא

חוּמְרִין—חוּמַרְתָּא

חוּמְשַׁיְיתָא, חוּמְשִׁין—חוּמְשָׁא חוּמוּשַׁיְיתָא Alf. B. M. 64*a*

חִישֵׁי—[חִישְׁתָּא]

חַקְלָיְיתָא—חַקְלָאָה

חַרְיוֹתָא, חַרְוָתָא—חַרְוָתָא *twigs*

חַשַׁאי, חַשֵׁי—[חַשָׁא]

[1] בְּנוֹתֵיהּ *Hal. Pes.*, § 88.

[2] דּוּכָּתִין *Igg. Šerirâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 15.

[3] הִילְכְתָאתְהוֹן *ibid.*, p. 19.

[4] לִילְוָתָא *SM.* No. CLXXVIII.

[5] מַסְכָיְיתָא, מַסְכָּיְיתָא, *Igg. Šerirâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 10; מַסְכָּתִין *ibid.*, ed. Goldberg, p. 37; מַסְכְּתָתָא *HG.* 265.

רַבְרְבָתֵי, רַבְרְבָתָא—רַבְּתִי
רוּחֵי—רוּחָא *winds, spirits,*
רוּחָתָא *sides*
־ִי, ־ֵי—רִיפְתָא
רְשׁוּתָא[3]
[שִׁיבלתא]—*cf.* § 881
שַׁבָּתֵי, שַׁבְּתָא—שַׁבָּא, שַׁבְּתָא
שַׁבֵּי[4]
שִׁדְרֵי—[שִׁדְרְתָא]
שִׁידְתִין—[שִׁידְתָא]
שׁוּרְתָא—שׁוּרָא
־ֵי, ־ִי—שְׁמָא[5]
־תָא—שְׁמַעְתָא
שְׁנֵי—שְׁתָא, שְׁנָא
שְׁעֵי—שַׁעְתָא
שְׁפוּתָא[6], שְׁפוּתָא—שִׁיפְתָא
־ֵי, ־ִי—שַׁקְרָא
־אֵי—שַׁקְרוּרָא
־אִי, ־ֵי—תָּאלָא
תְּפִילִי[7]—[תְּפִילְתָא]
־אֵי, ־ֵי—תַּקִּיפָא
תְּקוּפוּתָא—תְּקוּפְתָא (§ 989*d*)

־יוּתָא, ־וּתָא, ־יְתָא—סַמְיָא
־אֵי—סַפְּדִינָא
עֵינָתָא *eyes,* עֵינִין—עַיְנָא *fountains*
עַמְמֵי—עַמְמָא *gentiles*
־יִי, ־ֵי—עָרָא
עִישׁוּרְיָתָא—עִישׁוּרָא
־יְתָא, ־וּתָא, ־ִי (§ 989*d*)—פַּרְשְׁתָא
־יְתָא—פִּתְכָא
־וּתָא[1], ־יְתָא, ־תָא—צִיבְתָא
צִדְרַיְיתָא—צִדְרָא
־יְתָא, ־ִין—צִינְתָא
צִנְיַעְתָן—צִנְיָעְתָא
קְנַאי, קְנֵי—קַנְיָא
קְצוּצְיְיתָא—[קְצוּצְתָא]
קְרִיבְוּתָא—קְרִיבְתָא
־וּתָא, ־תָא, ־ֵי *horns,* ־ִי *corners*—קַרְנָא
־וּתָא, ־יְתָא, ־וּתָא, *date-stones*—[קְשִׁיתָא]
קַתְּתֵי, קַתָּתָא, קַתֵּי—קַתָּא
רַבְּוָתָא *great,* רַבְּרְבֵי *teachers*[2]—רַבָּא

[1] *Cf.* Amariñña t̆āf, Quara jāb.

[2] רִיבְּוָותֵיהּ *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 21.

[3] רָשְׁוָאתָא, רִישְׁוָאתָא, רָשְׁוָתָא *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 33; (רָאשְׁוָותָא *ibid.*, 183); רָשְׁוָאתָא *ŠÇ.*, V, 7, § 21.

[4] שַׁבָּאתֵי *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 13; שַׁבָּאתָא *ibid.*, ed. Neubauer, p. 13.

[5] שְׁמָתָא *ibid.*, ed. Goldberg, p. 2.

[6] שְׁפָאוָותֵיהּ *HG.*, ed. pr., 2*a*; שְׁפָתָתָא *SM.* No. 53.

[7] Syr. ܬܦܠܐ. This is connected with Maltese q a f l a *string, tie, band, bond,* 'Afar-Saho t u f u l *yarn, bond, ribbon.* תפלין mean properly *fillets.* The doubling of the ל may be due to the same law as in a form like גְּמַלִּים, but is more probably due to a popular etymology, connecting it with תְּפִלָּה *prayer*, and differentiating it from תִּפְלָה *folly.*

NOUNS WITH POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES.

§ 993. *1st person sing. com.*—*a*) With singular nouns: רֵישִׁי *my head*, Ned. 50*a*; אִתְּתִי *my wife*, *ibid.*; אַגְרִי *my wages*, B. M. 70*a*; חֵילַאי *my power*, Meg. 16*a*.

b) With plural nouns: חַיַּי *my life*, Yômâ 13*a*; נְשַׁיי *my wives*, Sanh. 38*b*; קָרִיבַאי *my relatives*, B. M. 87*a*; אִצְבְּעָתַי *my fingers*, Ber. 56*a*; זְכֻוָתַאי *my documents*, Ned. 27*a*; לַאֲחוֹרַי *ibid.* 50*a*.

§ 994. *1st person plur. com.*—*a*) With singular nouns: נַפְשִׁין *our soul*, Ned. 25*a*; יְדָן *our hand*, Pes. 50*a*; אַרְעָא *our land*, M. MS. Ber. 58*b*.

b) With plural nouns: עִילָּוָן *upon us*, Men. 40*a*; תַּרְוֵיהֶן *both of us*, Šebu. 37*b*.

§ 995. *2d person sing. masc.*—*a*) With singular nouns: בְּרָךְ *thy son*, Ned. 28*b*; לִבָּךְ *thy heart*, *ibid.* 21*b*.

b) With plural nouns: בְּנָךְ וּבְנָתָךְ *thy sons and thy daughters*, Ber. 56*a*; תְּפִילָּךְ *thy phylacteries*, *ibid.*

§ 996. *2d person sing. fem.*—*a*) With singular nouns: נַפְשִׁיךְ *thy soul*, M. Q. 16*b*; לַחְמִיךְ *thy bread*, Taan. 25*a*; סְעוּדְתִיךְ *thy meal*, Ned. 24*a*; דְּבִיתְכִי *thy wife*, *ibid.* 13*a*.

b) With plural nouns: כְּרָעַיִךְ *thy legs*, Nāz. 24*b*; כָּשׁוֹרַיִךְ *thy joists*, Taan. 25*a*; מְגִירָתַיִךְ *thy female neighbors*, Ned. 21*a*;[1] חַיֵּיכִי *thy life*, Yômâ 13*a*; בְּנַיְכִי *thy sons*, *VL.*, Sabb. 151*b*.

§ 997. *2d person plur. masc.*—*a*) With singular nouns: אַרְעֲכוֹן *your land*, Keth. 112*a*; אֱלָהֲכוֹן *your God*, M. MS. Sanh. 39*a*; לְבֵיתְכוּ *to your house*, C. MS. Pes. 101*a*; כּוּלְכוּ *all of you*.[2]

b) With plural nouns:[3] אֱלָהַיכוּ Sanh. 39*a*; רַבְוָתַיכוּ *your teachers*, Gitt. 68*b*; רַבֵּיכוֹן *your teacher*, Ker. 6*a* (= רִבּוֹנְכוֹן *TF. ibid.*); עֲבִידָתֵיכוּ *your doings*, Meg. 16*a* (§ 833, note); יוֹמַיכַן *your days*, M. MS. Sabb. 136*b*.

§ 998. *2d person plur. fem.*—*a*) With singular nouns: No example.

b) With plural nouns: כַּנְדֵיכִי *your pots*, Pes. 30*a*; פַּרְחֵיכִי *your crumbs*, *ibid.* 110*a*; קִדְרֵיכִי *your pots*, C. MS. *ibid.*; תַּבְלוֹנַיכִי (= תַּבְלַנַיכִי C. MS.) *your spices*, *ibid.* 110*b*; פּוּמַיְיכִי *your mouths*, C. MS. Pes. 110*a*; גּוּלְתַיכִי *your clocks*, Bêçā 38*b*.

[1] From the method of Talmudic spelling it does not seem likely that the ending could be יְךָ. It is, however, possible that we have to read it יְךָ, as with singular nouns.

[2] שַׁאֲלַתְכָא *your question*, *TG.* ed. Mussafia, § 42. כָּא = כַּן = כוֹן, as נָא = נַן = נוֹן.

[3] Singular nouns with plural suffixes are classed here.

§ 999. *3d person sing. masc.*—*a*) With singular nouns: כּוּלֵּיהּ, כּוּלֵּי, *all of it, passim;*[1] בַּר בְּרֵי *his grandson*, Ned. 48*b*;[2] דְּבִיתֵיהּ *his wife*, Sôtā 22*b*, 40*a*; דְּבִיתְהוּ *id.* Ned. 23*a*; דְּבִיתְהוּ *id.* M. MS. Yômâ 83*b*, Sabb. 151*b*; דְּבִיתְהִי *id. VL.*, B. M. 84*a*; דְּבִיתִידְהוּ *id.* C. MS. M. Q. 9*b*;[3] לְבֵיתִידְהוּ *to his house, VL.*, B. B. 10*a*.[4]

b) With plural nouns: בְּנֵיהּ *his sons*, Ber. 8*a*; יְדֵיהּ *his hands, ibid.* 91*a*; טַעְמֵיהּ *his reasons*, Ned. 81*a*; עִילָּוַיְיהּ *upon him* (§ 80): כִּילָתְהוּ *his baldachins*, M. MS. Sabb. 138*a*; בֵּיצְרָנָתְהִי *its boundaries*, B. B. 68*a*; בְּעוֹתְהִי *his belly*, Zeb. 5*a*; אַפּוֹי *his face*, M. MS. Ber. 56*a*; אַפּוֹהִי Sabb. 129*a*; דַּפָּנוֹי *his beadles*, Gitt. 34*a*.

§ 1000. *3d person sing. fem.*—*a*) With singular nouns: אַבַּתְרָא *after her*, Meg. 7*b*; דַּעְתָּהּ B. B. 151*a*; פִּתּוּבְתָּהּ B. M. 104*b* (פִּתּוּבְתָּא = כְּתָב, not = מְכֻתָּב).

b) With plural nouns: בְּנֵיהּ *her sons*, Ber. 56*a*; בְּנָתֵיהּ *her daughters, ibid.*; קְרִיבָתֵהּ *her relatives, ibid.*; עִילָּוֵי *upon her*, A. Z. 28*a*; בֵּיצְרָנָתָא *her boundaries*, B. B. 128*a*; שִׁיבְבָתָהָא *her woman-neighbors*, Sanh. 82*a*; עִלָּוֹהִי C. MS. Pes. 8*b* (voc.); עִילּוֹיְהִי *SM.* No. XXIII (voc.). (י = ־ֵי; *cf.* "Additions and Corrections" to § 116.)[5]

§ 1001. *3d person plur. masc.*—*a*) With singular nouns: כּוּלְּהוֹן *all of them*, 'Er. 30*a*; רֵישְׁהוֹן *their head*, C. MS. Meg. 11*a*; מָרְהוֹן *their lord*, Ned. 62*a*; דִּיקְנְהוֹן *their beard*, Nāz. 39*a*; כּוּלְּהוּ Ned. 2*a*; אִמַּן *their mother*, Sabb. 143*b*; נַפְשָׁן *themselves*, Pes. 118*b*; בְּדָרַתּוֹן (= בדרתהון) *their being scattered, VL.*, A. Z. 10*b*; אוֹרְחֵינְהוּ *their way*, Alf. Ber. 38*b*.[6]

b) With plural nouns: מַרְמֵידְהוֹן M. Q. 4*b*; מִילָּהוֹן *their words, VL.*, 'Er. 68*b*; אלהיהו C. MS. Meg. 14*b* (voc.); מָנֵיְהוּ *their garments*,

[1] כּוּלֵּי is not a plural, as given by the dictionaries. A plural of *all, totality*, is hardly conceivable. For the use of the word before plural nouns *cf.* Hebr. יַחְדָּו.

[2] *Cf.* Pal. Syr. ܒܪ = ܒܪܐ (Schwally, *Idioticon, s. v.*).

[3] With helping vowel. The expression דְּבִיתָא for *wife* is explained by the Talmudists as a euphemism, This is probably correct as far as Jewish usage is concerned. But if the expression be not of Jewish coinage, it must have meant originally גַּעֲגַע *stay-at-home.*

[4] קָדוּשְׁתִּירָא *TG.*, ed. Luria, § 207; אָסוּהָּ *his physician, TG.*, ed. Mussafia, § 89; אִינְתּוּהִי *his wife, TG.*, ed. Cassel, § 86; שִׁיבְבִינָהּ *his neighbor, TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 182.

[5] לְחוֹדָהִי *HG.* 255; לְחוֹדֵיהִי *ibid.* 268; עִילָּוֵיהִי *ibid.* 272; תַּלְמִידוֹהִי *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 10.

[6] נִיהַלְהוּ *to them, HG.* 108 (נִיהַלְי shows that this preposition is used in the singular); תְּלָתֵינְהוּ *they three, ibid.* 61; עִינְנְפוֹן (= ענינהון) *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 13.

Sabb. 130*b*; מַתְנִיתְהוּ *VL.*, Šebu. 38*b*; עִילְוְהוּ Ber. 50*a*; חַיִּידְהוֹן Pes. 113*b*; חַיִּידַהַן *VL.*, *ibid.*; מָנַיְידַהַן M. MS. Sabb. 33*b*; קִיּוּמַיְידְהוֹן B. B. 161*b*; גַּדְפַּיְידְהוּ *their wings*, Šuccā 5*b*; שִׁבּוּרַיְידְהוּ *their captors*, Keth. 23*a*.[1] With loss of final vowel: אַבַּתְרַיְידְ *VL.*, Sabb. 109*b*.[2]

§ 1002. *3d person plur. fem.*—*a*) With singular nouns: כּוּפְלְהִי Keth. 20*b*.

b) With plural nouns: גַּבְרוֹהִי C. MS. M. Q. 9*b*; קָרָמַיְידִי *VL.*, Pes. 74*b*; קַתַּיְידִי *VL.*, Pes. 30*b*.

ADJECTIVES WITH ENCLITIC PRONOUNS.

§ 1003. A few adjectives take enclitic personal pronouns, like participles: גְּבִיהַתְּ *thou art high*, Sabb. 67*a*; חַכִּימַתְּ *thou art wise*, Bekh. 8*b*; עַצִּיבַתְּ *thou art downcast*, Bêṣā 16*b*; זוֹטְרִינָן *we were small*, B. B. 142*b*; חַכִּימִינָן Bekh. 8*b*; קַשִּׁישְׁנָן *we are old*, B. B. 142*b*; קַשִּׁינָן *id. VL. ibid.*[3]

שְׁמָא, חֲמָא, אֲחָתָא, אֲחָא, אֲבָא WITH SUFFIXES.

§ 1004. *1st sing. com.*—*a*) With singular nouns: אֲחִי *VL.*, 'Er. 138*b*;[4] אֲחָתַאי Meg. 13*b*; שְׁמַאי Sabb. 145*b*.

b) With plural nouns: אֲבָהָתַי Taan. 23*a*; אֲבָהַתַּי *VL.*, B. B. 8*b*; אַחְוָתַי Sabb. 57*a*.

1st plur. com.—*a*) With singular nouns: אֲבוּן Ber. 18*b*, Keth. 92*a*; אֲבוּנָן Keth. 85*b*; אֲחוּנָא Yeb. 37*b*, 38*a*, B. B. 135*a*; אֲחָנָא, אֲחָאנָא, M. Q. 28*b*.[5]

b) With plural nouns: אֲבָהָתָן *VL.*, B. B. 7*b*; אֲבָהָתָן Pes. 50*b*; אֲבָהַתָּנָא E. Y. *ibid.*

2d sing. masc.—*a*) With singular nouns: אֲבוּךְ Ned. 28*b*, 50*b*; אֲבִיךְ Sanh. 23*b*.

2d plur. masc.—*a*) With singular nouns: אֲבוּכוֹן B. M. 34*b*; אֲבוּכֶן *VL.*, B. B. 58*a*; אֲחוּכוֹן Yeb. 37*b*; אֲחִיכוֹן E. Y. *ibid.*

[1] מַנְיָהוּ *SM.* No. xxv (voc.); לְהוֹ *ibid.*; יְרוֹהוֹן *HG.* 215; בֵּינָאתַן *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 70; פִּירַיְידַהַן *TR.*, II, 14; אַפּוֹהֵין *Sed. R. 'Amrām*, p. ר; אַגְדָּפָאתְהוֹן *Igg. Šerīrā*, p. 24.

[2] פָּלוּגְתַיְידְהוּ *Igg. Šerīrā*, ed. Neubauer, p. 44; בָּתְרִיהּ *MV.* 31.

[3] With adverb: מְקָרְבָנָא טָפֵינָא *HG.* 411, for מְקָרְבָנָא טָפֵי.

[4] אֲחַאי *HG.* 138.

[5] אֲבוּנָא *Še'ēl.*, § 14; אֲבוּנָן *ibid.*, § 23; שְׁמָנָא *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 1.

3d sing. masc.—*a*) With singular nouns: אֲבוּהִי Ber. 18*b*; אֲבוּהִי Nāz. 30*a*; אֲחוּהִי Sanh. 5*a*; אֲחִיהִי C. MS. Meg. 6*a*, *VL.*, B. Q. 88*b* (voc.); חֲמוּהִי Sanh. 28*b*; אֲתְתִיהִי *ibid.* 5*a*; שְׁמִיהִי Ber. 19*a*.[1]

b) With plural nouns: אֲחוֹהִי Nāz. 5*a*, Ḥull. 60*a*; אֲחוֹהִי B. B. 151*a*; אֲחִיהִי *VL. ibid.*; אֲחוֹהִי Meg. 16*a*; אֲחִיהִי Sabb. 13*a*; אֲחִיוֹתִיהִי *VL.*, B. M. 104*b*.

3d sing. fem.—*a*) With singular nouns: אֲבוּהָא *her father*, Succā 31*a*, C. MS. Meg. 16*a*; אֲבוּהָא *his father*, Šebu. 47*a*; חֲמוּהָא *his father-in-law*, eds. Qidd. 12*b*;[2] אֲחוּהָא Ned. 74*a*.

b) With plural nouns: אֲחֵיהָא B. B. 141*a*.[3]

3d plur. masc.—*a*) With singular nouns: אֲבוּהֵן B. M. 34*b*; אֲבוּהַן *VL.*, B. B. 7*b*, B. Q. 104*b*, Šebu. 47*b*.[4]

b) With plural nouns: אֲבָהָתַיְהוּ Meg. 15*a*; אֲחוֹהֵן Keth. 52*b*; שְׁמָהָתַיְהוּ Gitt. 11*b*; שְׁמַיְהוּ Zeb. 4*a*; שְׁמִיהוּ C. MS. Meg. 14*b* (voc.).[5]

NOMINAL COMPOUNDS.

§ 1005. Nominal compounds are of various kinds: *a*) Two nouns standing in genitive relation; as בֵּי כְּנִישְׁתָּא *synagogue*, בַּעַל דְּבָבָא *enemy*. Sometimes both words are contracted into one, with occasional phonetic loss; as אַדַּבָּא *paternal uncle*, Tña. ḥauebbo, הוּרְשִׁינֵי *gums*, מֵינוּנֵי *fish-brine* (= מֵי נוּנַיָּא *VL.*, Sabb. 105*b*), שְׁלִיחַ צִיבּוּר = שַׁלְצִיבּוּר; נְהַרְדְּעָא, פּוּמְבְּדִיתָא, names of cities.

b) Two nouns in apposition; as רַבָּה, רָבִינָא, רָאבִינָא (= רַב אַבָּה, רַב אֲבִינָא). Instead of a noun the first element may be an adjective or participle: קְדַשְׁנוּנָא, שְׁלֵינוּנָא, kinds of fish.[6]

c) Noun in apposition to participle or participial noun: בַּר מְהִילָא, בְּנֵי הַרְוֵי *VL.*, Sanh. 109*a*.

d) Noun and numeral in genitive relation: סַמְתַּרֵי, סַמְתַּר, *plaster made from product of dragon-tree.*

[1] אֲבוּר *HG.* 543; אֲחוּהִי *ibid.* 248; אֲחוּאִי *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 39; שְׁמִיא *HG.*, ed. pr., 97*c*.

[2] *Cf.* § 105.

[3] אֲחוֹהִי *Se'ēl.*, § 21.

[4] אֲבוּהוּ *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 232.

[5] שְׁמַיְהוּן *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 12; שְׁמָהָתֵיהוֹן *ibid.*, p. 2; שְׁמָהָתְהוֹן *ibid.*, ed. Neubauer, p. 4; שְׁמִינְהוּ, שְׁמַיְרַהּ, *RLOW.*, § 42.

[6] The nature of the first element in קְבַרְנוּנָא and שְׁפַרְנוּנָא is uncertain. סְדַשְׁנוּנָא is probably مُرَابِطُ ٱلْحُوتِ *agus, galeus.*

e) Noun and attributive adjective: אֶשְׁתְּקַד (= שַׁתָּא קַדְמָיְתָא).

f) Two numerals: חֲדָדֵי (= חַדָּא חֲדָא).

g) Adjective and noun: קַטִּין שָׁקִיהּ.

h) Preposition and noun: אִימַּת = Assyr. *ina mati, אִתְּמָל = Assyr. ina timâli.

i) Relative particle and noun: דְּבִיתָא *wife*.[1]

§ 1006. In the nominal compounds described above, the second member of the compound determines the gender and number, and receives the endings which would otherwise be attached to the first word: פּוּמְבְּדִיתָאָה, נְהַר פְּקוֹדָאָה, בֵּי חוֹזָאֵי, בֵּי כְנִישְׁתֵּי. But *cf.* בָּתֵּי כְסָאֵי *MM.* Ber. 62*a*.

[1] For similar formations in Assyrian *cf.* Jensen, *ZA.*, VII., 174, n. 1.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

PAGE

1. *Note* 3. Add: לִישָׁנָא דְרַבָּנֵי (Ibn Ǧanâḥ, ס' השרשים, *s. v.* דרב); לְשׁוֹן רז"ל (commentary היכל רענן to Yalqûṭ Is. 422). Biblical Aramaic is called הַתַּרְגּוּם בָּעִבְרִי by Joseph Qimḥi (ס' הגלוי, *s. v.* כען, p. 110). For סוּרְסִי we find סָרְסִי *VL.*, Pes. 61*a*, and סוּרְסָן Tos. Bekh. 49*b*.

2. § 2. *Note* 1. Isaac Halevy (דורות הראשונים, III., 48 *sq.*) proposes another explanation for the dialectical differences. The Talmud, says he, has come to Europe by two ways: through the Berbery states and through Palestine. The dialectical expressions found in Nedārîm, etc., represent Palestinean substitutions for original Babylonian expressions. According to this theory, said expressions must have been common in the Palestinean schools; must, in other words, be found in the Palestinean Talmud. Whether these are really found there is, with the insufficiency of our dictionaries, difficult to ascertain. Zomber, who has gone over the Palestinean Talmud in search of the expression תבעי, has met with a negative result.

2. § 3. Add to the expressions characteristic of Nedārîm: אַפְלוּ תֵּימָא for the usual אִיבָּעֵית אֵימָא, and מֵיתִיבִי for תָּא שְׁמַע; *cf.* תחלת חכמה, ed. Warsaw, p. 39*a*.

3. § 5. Dr. Schmiedel's statement (אוצר הספרות, V., 115, n.) that the vernacular of the Babylonian Jews was the Persian language, has no foundation.

3. *Note* 3. The excellent index of Dr. Im. Löw to Krauss' *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter* enables us to give an exact answer to this question. According to that index there are the following words occurring only in the Babylonian Talmud: I. Words whose etymological explanation Löw assumes as certain: *ἀβραμίς, ἀκακία, αὐθεντική, βάτος, βηρύττα, δάφνη, διζυγία, δρομεύς, δρόμος, ἔβενος, κράβατος, λάδανον, μάῤῥον, μέτρα, νεφέλη, ὀρτάριον, σέρβουλον,*

PAGE

σκυταλίς, στόμωμα, σφήκωμα, τέρθρα, τήγανον, τίγρις, φάκελος, carenum, gemoniae; II. Words whose etymological explanation is doubtful: κολαστήρ, κόρτος, κρόσσος, ὄργανον, συρτόν, φυλακή, siglatura; III. Words whose etymological explanation is improbable: ἀγκύλη, αὔξ, δρύφακτος, ἔντευξις, θαλάϊνον, καλύβη, κινστέρνα, κύμβη, νόμισμα, τζίχλα, τριβοῦνος, φολλερόν, arca, claustrum, pulsus; IV. The foreign words τρίτη and the improbable σπεῖρα, and the transcribed word κάσις. The first two groups have been examined by me. μάῤῥον and carenum are in all probability themselves of Semitic origin. ἀβραμίς, δρομεύς, σφήκωμα, τήγανον, gemoniae, κολαστήρ, κόρτος, and φυλακή go back to Palestinean sources.

6. § 6. In later literature the abbreviation sign ״ or ״̇ is also used where we would use italics or heavy-faced type. *Cf.* also Perles, *Analekten*, p. 26.

7. § 13. *SM.* has frequently a full vowel in place of שוא.

8. § 14. But *cf.* Mueller, *Die altsemit. Inschriften von Sendschirli*, pp. 41 *sq.*

10. § 18. The verbal examples are to be explained differently:— דאיתיילדן and דאינקוט are perfects; on לשבע, etc., *cf.* Add. and Corr. to § 208; on קרקפתא *cf.* § 966, note.

12. § 26. Additional examples for the interchange of gutturals and sibilants: שפת (*VL.*, Yômâ 77*b*) = חפת; חפן (Tosiphta, B. M. ix, 14) = ספן; הוגנא (Rašî, Zeb. 46*b*, *s. v.* לאפוקי כבבא) = סוגנא ('Er. 29*b*); סרואריא (Targûm) = חרואריא (Add. to *'Ar. Compl.*, p. 43); ⟨syr⟩ = ⟨syr⟩ *sleeve*; تَمّ = Maltese hemm *there*.

13. *Note* 3. Notice אזאדא! *VL.*, Pes. 74*b*.

15. *Note* 3. About אֶבֶן *cf.* B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, pp. 23, 75, and Kerber, *Die religionsgesch. Bedeutung der hebr. Eigennamen im AT.*, p. 63.

16. § 46. *Cf.* § 980.

16. § 47. Delete שלהי; *cf.* § 790*b*.

16. § 48. *Cf.* against it Nöldeke, *ZDMG.*, L., 311.

17. § 50. 1. מְנָאן; *cf.* Tunisian Arabic مْنِين.

17. § 50. 6. מטול is probably the same as maṭăn in Ethiopic and its dialects.

PAGE

18. § 51*a*. On טייא *cf.* § 884, note; on צלעי, § 883, note; on עציצא, § 883, note.

18. § 51*c*. Delete: טצדקא and טצדהר.

19. § 53. 1. Delete: גרגלידא *slice.*

19. § 53. 4. On לאידבק *cf.* Add. and Corr. to § 208.

19. § 55. On وَرْشَان *cf. WZKM.*, X., 275.

20. § 56. For (§ 56) read (§ 51).

22. *Note* 2. *Cf.* § 987.

23. § 71. *Cf.* Grimme, *Grundzüge*, p. 9.

27. § 84. *Cf.* §§ 531*e*, 784, 933, note.

29. § 93. But in a number of cases the traditional accent rests on the antepenultima, with coincident syncopy of the vowel of the penultima; *cf.* §§ 231, 5, and 646, 2.

31. *Note* 2. Add: אַנָן *SM.* No. xxviii, אִינְהוֹ *ibid.*, *ibid.*, אִינַהוֹ *ibid.* No. xxv, אִתְ *ibid.* No. lxxxviii (all vocalized).

32. § 102. *Cf.* Add. and Corr. to § 208.

33. § 107. For יכוּ־ (3d masc.) read: יְהוּ־.

34. § 111. Add: אִיתִינְהוּ Alf. Qidd. 27*a*, B. B. 149*a*; לֵיתִינְהוּ Alf. B. B. 142*b*; אִיתֵיהוּ *they are, Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 26; אִיתְנִין *id. ibid.*, p. 10; אִיתְנֵיהּ, אִיתֵיהּ, *it is, ibid.*; אִיתְנָה *they are, HG.* 454; אִיתֵי plural, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 74; *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 5.

35. § 112. *Cf.* § 647.

35. § 116. Add: הַנּוּ Qidd. 32*b*.

35. § 117. For הָאִיךְ we frequently find הֵיאַךְ. *Cf.* Niddā 3*a*, *VL.*, Ber. 81*b*, Šebu. 30*b*, 39*b*, B. B. 17*b*, 29*a*, 167*b*, B. Q. 84*b*, etc.

36. *Note* 2. Add: חָדָא *this, HG.* 452; אַנֵי, עַנֵי, *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 17; הָלֵין *ibid.*, p. 11; אִילֵי *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 335; אִלֵּין *SM.* No. xxvi (voc.);[1] הֵינוּ *ibid.* No. xxviii (voc.); הַלָּךְ for הַנָּךְ in השטרות ס׳, p. 28.

37. § 123. Add: נִיהָה *they are, TF.* Ker. 25*b*.

[1] ◌ֵ◌ֲ◌ִ = ◌ֵ◌ִ (§ 998, note).

PAGE

38. *Note* 4. Ehrlich (מקרא כפשוטו, Gen. 38:24) explains הֵירִינוּ as a compound of הֵא + נ + הוּא.

39. § 128. Notice כְּלִדְלָן (= כְּלֵדְלָן) E. Y. Hôr. 13*b*.

39. § 129. כְּמֵאן דְּ— is used also as Syriac ܐܝܟ ܕ in the sense of *as if*. *Cf.* B. B. 12*b*, *AZ.* 24*b*, Pes. 20*a*, 72*a*, 85*a*, *MV.* 42.

39. *Note* 4. *Cf.* מָן, מָאֵי *SM.* No. xxv (voc.).

40. § 130. Notice the forms פְּלִינְתָא, פְּלִינְתָא *VL.*, Ber. 18*b*, Taan. 25*a*.

40. § 131. Add: אִיךְ *VL.*, B. Q. 118*a*, אִיכֵי (plural) *VL.*, Sanh. 96*b*, אִיכּוּ *VL.*, B. B. 87*a*, אַיְּבָא *SM.* No. xxv (voc.).

40. § 133. Notice הִילְכָּךְ *VL.*, Ḥull. 19*b*. In modern literature the phrase חוּלְקָן וּבִילְקָן is also used in the sense of *stuff*, *trash*, and in that of *hotch-potch*.

40. § 135. Add: לָא ··· וְלָא חֲדָא Sanh. 41*b*.

40. *Note* 1. Add: כְּמֵי *some*, *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 33 = כְּמֵיהּ *ibid.*, ed. Neubauer, pp. 23, 44, with imâle of קְמִין. The ה, here as well as in other cases, marks the pronunciation —ֵי, as against a possible —ִי.

41. § 136. Add: תְּמָנְיָא Alf. Men. 42*a*, חֲדֵיסַר *VL.*, Ḥag. 9*b*, תְּרֵין עֲשַׂר *VL.*, B. B. 143*a*, חַמְשַׂר *VL.*, Meg. 2*a*, חֲמֵשׁ סַר, חֲמֵשׁ סְרֵי Yalqûṭ Ez. 380 = ʿAr. 12*a*, חֲמֵשׁ עַסְרֵי *VL.*, Sabb. 99*a*, שִׁיתָּא עַשַׂר *VL.*, Meg. 6*a*, תְּשַׁע עַשְׂרֵה ʿAr. 12*a*, עַשְׂרֵי *twenty*, *MM.*, Gitt. 56*a*, מָאתֵין *VL.*, Pes. 64*b*.—For שִׁתֵּי read: שִׁתֵּי. For 80. כ read: 80. פ.

43. § 140. Add: עֲשְׂרִין וְאַרְבְּעָה אַלְפִין רִיבּוֹאִין "240,000,000," Ned. 50*b*; אֶלֶף אַלְפֵי רִבּוֹא רִבְוָון "100,000,000,000,000," *VL.*, Sanh. 39*a*.

43. § 141. Add: אַרְבְּעִין נְכֵי חֲדָא *VL.*, Sanh. 69*b*. This mode of counting is probably good Semitic. *Cf.* for the Arabic, Goldziher, *ZDMG.*, XLIX., 216 *sq.*

43. *Note* 1. Add: חַד *HG.*, ed. pr., 19*c*; חָד *SM.* No. xxv (voc.); תַּרְתֵּי סַר *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 37; תַּרְתֵּי עַשְׂרֵה *ŠÇ.*, IV., 4, § 23; אַרְבֵּיסְרֵי colophon to *ʿAr. Compl.*, end of letter נ; חֲמֵיסְרֵי *ibid.*; שְׁבֵיסַר *ibid.*, end of letter ע; תְּשֵׁיסַר *ibid.*, end of letter צ; תְּמָנְסַר *HG.*, ed. pr., 30*b*, 105*b*.—For חַמְשֵׁי read: חַמְשֵׁי.

44. § 146. Add: טְצַדָּר, Persian چهار, *four*.

45. *Note* 3. *Cf.* חִמְשָׁא *HG.* 467 (voc.).

PAGE

46. § **156.** Add: יְחִידְתָּא Ned. 51*a*; חוּמּוּשְׁיָאתָא Alf. B. M. 64*a*.

46. *Note* **2.** Notice: אדהדי *SM.* No. XLVIII, הַדָּאדֵי *ibid.* No. LXXIII (voc.).

46. § **157.** Add: מִתַּתָּאה *VL.*, B. B. 7*a*; צֵית *toward, VL.*, B. B. 73*b*; הֵיכִי ד— *where*, Sabb. 30*a*.

47. § **159.** Add: מִבְּדַקְמָא *at the earlier time*, Ḥag. 4*b*; אָז *then*, Ber. 28*a* (a Hebraism).

47. *Note* **1.** Add: לַאֲחוֹרֶךְ *supra, JQR.*, IX., 658; הֵיכִי *where, TG.*, ed. Cassel, 132; כַּן *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 374 (voc.); הַתָּם *SM.* No. X (voc.); הֵיכִי ד— *where*, Hal. Pes., § 123.

47. *Note* **2.** Add: אִידָּנָא *now, TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 235; עַד לְהֵידָנָא *till now, SM.* No. LXX; אַלְתַּר *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 230; מֵאַלְתַּר *ibid.*, § 233, *TG.*, ed. Cassel, §§ 7, 48; *HG.*, ed. pr., 81*d*; מִן כַּד *as soon as, Igg. Šerirâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 37.

48. § **159.** For לְמָחָר read: לִמְחָר.

48. § **160.** Add: בְּאִרְי *verily, forsooth, VL.*, Yômâ 57*a*; בְּרֵם B. B. 58*b*; הַיְיָא *quickly, VL.*, Sabb. 124*b*; כֵּן *so, thus*, B. B. 10*a*; בַּחֲשַׁאי *quietly*, בְּצִינְעָא *secretly*, בְּפַרְהֶסְיָא *publicly*, מִנַּפְשֵׁיהּ *of itself, spontaneously, VL.*, B. Q. 31*b*; הָכִי R. Nissîm, המפתח 59*b* = Ned. 55*a*; כדי seems to be connected with Eth. kantû, Tigrê-Bilin kändō, Galla tîki, which have the same meaning, and Barea woddet *useless, in vain*, from wod, wot, *be unwilling, hate*. In the expression ואמרי לה כדי C. MS. Zeb. vocalizes כְּדֵי. On קָא *cf. WZKM.*, XIII., 245 *sq.*

48. *Note* **3.** Notice: הָאכִי 'Anân in *Voskhod*, January, 1898, p. 17, n. 1, quoted by Harkavy; הַכִי *SM.* No. XXVIII (voc.); הָכֵי *ibid.* No. LXX (voc.); הָכוֹן *TR.*, II., 41; הַדָּר *SM.* No. LII (voc.); כְּלַפֵּי לְאָה *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 413.—For לִיא = אליה *cf.* Eg. Arab. لَيْسَ = لَسَّ.

49. § **162.** Add: סַגִּי *enough.*

49. § **163.** Add: כְּמָה *how many?* Pes. 88*a*; אַהֵיכָא = אַהַיְיָא *VL.* Zeb. 111*b*; הֵיאַי *how? VL.*, Sabb. 23*a*.—For אֵימַת, אֵינִי read: אִימַת, אִינִי.—Notice: מִי כְּדֵי for מִיכְּדֵי *SM.* No. CXIV; מַאי for מִי *ibid.* No. CLXXVII; מִנַּי לָן for מִנָּא לָן *ibid.* No. CLV (voc.).

PAGE

50. § 167. Add: הִין Sanh. 101*b* and אִי *VL.*, B. B. 58*a*, *yes.* The latter may be an apocopated אִין or the equivalent of Arab. إِيْ, Hebr. אַיֵּה *VL.*, Sanh. 65*b*, where we find also the synonyms אוֹ = Eth. ĕ̈û and אֵם = Tigrê-Bilin imm.

50. § 168. Notice: לַיִת *VL.*, Sanh. 46*b*.

51. § 174. On אמטול *cf.* Add. and Corr. to § 50, 6.

52. § 174. בְּדִיל occurs also *VL.*, Ber. 56*a*, Yalqûṭ Is. 437 = Ber. 17*a*, *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 550.—Notice: בַּהֲדֵי *SM.* No. LXXIII, בְּהָדָךְ *ibid.* No. XXV, בְּהַדֵּיכוֹ *ibid.* (all voc.). הֲדֵי and הֲדָא go back to the stem حذا.—Add: בַּר מִן *except*, בְּמַר *instead.*

52. *Note* 2. Delete the sentence, "and, we may add . . . . . found." Professor Nöldeke calls my attention to the use of this particle in Palmyrean. *Cf.* also Buhl, *Kanon und Text des Att.*, § 52, end.

53. § 174. על. Notice: עלי *VL.*, Ber. 36*a*.

53. § 176. On the force of מִן in כְּמִנֵּיהּ *cf.* Beaussier, *Dict. arabe-français, s. v.* مِن, ما, and Falzon, *Dizion. malt.-ital.-inglese, s. v.* min.

54. § 177*b*. The form נִיהְלִי shows that a plural termination is not to be assumed here. Notice נִילָן for נִיהֲלָן C. MS. Pes. 13*a*.

54. § 177*c*. Add: *VL.*, B. Q. 15*b*.

55. § 182. Notice: אֵי *if*, *SM.* No. XXVIII (voc.).

56. § 182. אַלְמָא *hence* is probably = إِمَّا لَا with vowel-syncope and subsequent transposition.—For אפ על גב ד and אפ על פי כן read: אַף עַל גַּב ד and אַף עַל פִּי כֵן.—הילכך is a contraction of הוֹאִיל וְכָךְ; *cf.* Bacher, *JQR.*, IX., 148.—For a clearer trace of ו consecutive *cf.* ניפסק · · · · וכתב *TR.*, I., 26.—For כְּסָבוּר read: כִּסְבוּר; *cf.* § 870.—On the postpositive particles כִּי, כּוֹ, כָּא *cf.* Grimme, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

57. § 182. For R. R. read R. H.—Add: הַשְׁתָּא אִיכּוֹ *VL.*, B. B. 111*a*; הַשְׁתָּא אִי כּוֹ *VL.*, B. M. 73*b*.—Notice: נַמּוֹ *TF.*, Ker. 27*b*; נאמי *TR.*, II., 20. Nöldeke connects this particle with Syriac ܢܡ (*MG.*, p. 485), suggesting a Persian origin. The word is a compound of the particle na and the interrogative mi, mu. The first appears in Ethiopic as nî *et, etiam*, Amh. -nā *id.*, Kafā -na *and, with,*

PAGE

Somali na *also*, Assyr. lû *forsooth;* the second element is common to the Semitic and Hamitic languages. *Cf.* also Galla lamú *ancora* (Viterbo, *Gram. e diz. della ling. orom.*), Barea nen *also, even*, Kungara nin *also*. In the expression אי נבי the sense of נבי seems to be *forsooth;* in the expression אַף נבי it is not clear whether אַף mean *also*, or have the force of the particle of in Galla.—Add: כָּל דְּכֵן (= Hebr. כָּל שֶׁכֵּן) Ned. 49*b;* סוֹף סוֹף *finally, after all.*

57. *Note* **3.** Notice: אֲמִכֵּיוָן *since, TR.*, II, 34.

58. § **185.** Delete: "אִי *O!* = Arab. يَا." The word has also here the sense of *if;* שתיקו is perfect, third person for first.—On אשור *cf.* Gunzbourg, *RÉJ.*, XXVIII, 191.—For לְחַיֵּי read לְחַיֵּי; the word is so vocalized in the *Haggadah according to the Rite of Yemen*, ed. Greenburg, p. 1, n. 6. The Hebrew equivalent, לחיים (R. Tam., ס׳ הישר, ed. Rosenthal, p. 62), shows that it is the noun חַיֵּי *life* + ל.—To תוך תוך *cf.* تَكْتَكَ *to simmer.*—Add: שְׁרִיקְרִיק an imitation of sound produced by birds, *VL.*, Ḥull. 65*a;* הַיָּיא *alas! VL.*, Yômâ 69*b;* חֲבַל *Oh! woe! VL.*, Pes. 20*b.*

58. *Note* **3.** Perles' hypothesis suggested by הילני, which looks like the proper name Helene, is untenable. Dozy's *Supplément aux Dict. arabes* contains the following interesting Arabic equivalents: هُو, هيلمة, هيش, هيد, هلا, هلى.

63. § **208.** The following examples are apt to shed more light on the true nature of the prefix לְ, לִי. It is used not only with the imperfect, but also with the perfect and the participle. It is even found in the form לוּ and as a separate particle. *Cf.* for the latter § 763. לִיצְנִיעִיתוּן (*MM.*, Sabb. 140*b*) may be perfect or passive participle; לְמַפְרַח (*AZ.* 10*a*) is participle; perfects are: לְקַלַּעְי *VL.*, Sabb. 66*b;* לוּצַלִּיתְ *VL.*, Ber. 28*b;* לְמִילְחָהּ, לְצִינְנָהּ B. B. 74*b;* לְיאַפְּכִיהּ *VL.*, Ḥull. 28*b*, and probably לְבַצְעִינָן Alf. Pes. 116*a.* In Hebrew the perfect with ל is found in *TG.*, ed. Harkavy, § 314: האלהים לנובבך בדתו לבונך תורתו. In לאידבק (§ 208, note) we have ל with the first person imperfect; in the other examples given there and in the footnote we have ל with the perfect. ליעינן (§ 223) may also belong here, and would have to be vocalized לִיעַיְּינָן. *Cf.* also König's excellent article, "Das l. Jaqtul

PAGE

im Semitischen," *ZDMG.*, LI., 330 *sq.*, and Littmann, *ZA.*, XII., 207, note, and *ibid.*, XIV., 6 *sq.*

65. § 223. For קָטְלוּיי, קָטְלוּי, אֶקְטְלוּיי, etc., read: קַטְלוּיי, etc., with שוא of ט.—Add to Qal: מִקְטָל, קַטְלָנָא.

66. § 223. Add to Pa''ēl: קַטְלָנָא; to Aph'ēl: אַקְטָלָן, אֶקוֹטַל; to Ithpa''al: אִתְקַטָּלִי, אִיתְקַטְלַאי, אִתְקוֹטַל.

66. § 226. אוחרי is here more probably אוחרֵי, plural of אוּחְרָא.

67. § 230. 3. A similar transposition of the vowel is found in Tigrê; *cf. ZA.*, XII., 209.

68. *Note* 1. *Cf.* סָבוּר *SM.* No. xxv (voc.) and אָמוֹר quoted by Dalman, *Aram. Dialektproben*, p. 30, n. 8.

69. § 233. Add: אִינַסִּינָה *I shall prove*, Yalqûṭ Sam. 148 = Sanh. 107*a*; *cf.* the biblical תָּבוֹאתָה and similar forms, and תַּדְחַתֵּנִי Zeb. 102*b*. —דנימטין is more probably דְנִימְטִין with pronominal suffix.—On ליבישלין *cf.* Add. and Corr. to § 208.

76. § 259. *Cf.* לְמִימְרַד *SM.* No. lxxii (voc.); מִיחְתּוֹךְ *VL.*, Ḥull. 8*b*; לְאִיכְתַּב *JQR.*, IX., 698; מִישְׁלַם *ŠÇ.*, IV., 2, § 48; צַוּוּחָנָא Ber. 20*a*.

79. *Note* 6. *Cf.* the spelling חֲדִינָאן in ס׳ השטרות ed. Halberstamm, p. 28.

81. § 273. For the imperfect forms with ל, as לִיקַטֵּיל, etc., read לִיקַטֵּל, without דגש in the first stem-consonant.

83. § 278. Notice: תַּקִּינִי, תַּקּוּנִי, *VL.*, Sabb. 24*b*.

85–6. § 292. *Cf.* לְקַרָעָא, reading of Tos. in M. Q. 28*b fin.*; לְקַצָּעָה Zeb. 94*a*; לְמִכַּסְפֵּיהּ *VL.*, Sabb. 46*a*.—For the forms *sub l* and *m* *cf.* Add. and Corr. to § 223.

92–3. § 321. Notice: אַפְחוֹשָׁא *VL.*, B. B. 27*b* (§ 23*c*); דַּכְשִׁירֵי (= דְּאַכְשִׁירֵי) *VL.*, Ḥull. 27*a*; לְמֵרְוַח *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 23.—For the forms *sub h* *cf.* Add. and Corr. to § 223.

97. § 333. For אִיבְּזַאי read אִיבְּזַאי; add: אִיבַּלְעַאי *VL.*, Ber. 54*b*.

99. § 345*g*. For לְאִזְדְּרְבּוּיֵי read לְאִזְדְּרְבּוּיֵי.

101. *Note* 3. Add: לְאִיחְנַדְּרֵי *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 25.—For אִשְׁתַּרְשׁוּיֵי read אִשְׁתַּרְשׁוּיֵי.—אִיחַרְכֵי belongs to § 345.

103. § 375. *Cf.* נִיסִּיק *VL.*, Ber. 55*b*.

PAGE

103. § **378.** *Cf.* אֵיסִיק *VL.*, Ber. 24*b*.

103. § **379.** *Cf.* לִיסְקוּ Ḥag. 7*a*.

105. § **394.** *Cf.* לִיקוֹשׁ Yalqût Lev. 529 = Zeb. 18*a*.

105. § **402***c*. Read: לְאַקְשׁוֹרֵי.

105. *Note* **4.** Read: לְאַסְקוֹרֵי.

108. § **412.** Notice: אֲזִילִי *VL.*, B. M. 84*b*.

110. § **417.** Notice: נִיתְכּוֹל *VL.*, Zeb. 55*b*.

112. § **424.** For אוֹשַׁלְתְּ M. MS., read אַשְׁאֵילְתְּ, אַשְׁאַלְתְּ, *VL.*

115. § **434.** Notice: אַזֵּיתָ *VL.*, B. M. 57*b*.

116. § **437.** *Cf.* לְאוֹדָן *VL.*, B. M. 42*b*.

116. § **438.** *Cf.* מִיתִיבְיָן *VL.*, Sabb. 148*b*.

120. § **452.** *Cf.* לְמִיגְזָא ed. pr. Sabb. 150*b*.

121. § **455.** *Cf.* עֲלַיְיהוּ *VL.*, Yômâ 86*a*; קַיְיצְיָן *VL.*, B. M. 69*a*.

122. § **459***b*. For qittâle read qittûlê.

124. § **467.** *Cf.* מִיחְמָא *VL.*, Taan. 21*b*; מַסְכָּן B. B. 166*b*.

125. § **470.** *Cf.* תִּתְרַע *VL.*, B. B. 6*a*.

126. § **473.** *Cf.* מְזַדְּקִינָן *VL.*, Šebu. 41*a*.

126. § **474.** אִיסְתַּטִּיט or אִיסְטַטִּיט (*sic*) is probably connected with Amh. ašattätä *to glide out, slip,* or Eth. šoṭaṭa.

131. § **496.** *Cf.* צִיתּ *VL.*, B. Q. 74*b*; תּוּבִי (*f.*) *VL.*, Taan. 24*a*.

131. § **498.** Add: מְחוֹכֵי *MM.*, Gitt. 57*b*; מְדָקָא *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 8.

132. § **501.** *Cf.* שָׁאפוּ *VL.*, Sabb. 66*b*.

132. § **506.** *Cf.* צָדְנָא *VL.*, B. M. 85*b*; דָּיְירְנָא *VL.*, B. B. 7*a*; דָּרְיְנָא *VL.*, B. B. 29*a*.

133. § **510.** *Cf.* לְקַדְּוּהַ *VL.*, Pes. 116*a*, passing into ל״ר; לְמִשַּׁוְּיְמֵיהּ *VL.*, B. Q. 84*a*.

134. § **515.** *Cf.* אוֹקְמִי *VL.*, B. M. 84*b*; דְּמוּשִׁינְהוּ Ḥull. 7*b*, quoted in המפתח 46*b* (√מוש = √משא).

135. § **518.** *Cf.* אַנִיחֵי *VL.*, Sabb. 18*b*.

PAGE

135. § 519. *Cf.* מוֹדִילָא ed. pr. B. M. 108*a*; מַנְחִי B. Q. 62*a*; מַחֲכוּ *VL.*, Zeb. 62*a*.

136. § 522. For Soncisso read Soncino.

137. § 525. For מְדִיל, *VL.*, B. B. 8*a* has מְדִירִין, מְדִרַיִן.

137. § 526. Notice: אִסְתְּעִיָּא (√סיע) *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Goldberg, p. 9; אִיסְתַּיְעָא (= אִסְתַּיְעָא) *ibid.*, ed. Neubauer, p. 19.

137. § 527. Add: נִיחַיְיבִי *VL.*, Ber. 20*b*; נִיכַּיְידָן *VL.*, Zeb. 73*b*; נִיכַּיְידוּ Rašî, *ibid.*

139. *Note* 2. On the infinitive ending ־ָא in verbs ל״י *cf.* Wellhausen, *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, VI., 258.

141. § 535. תָּאנָא is more probably a contracted form of the participle for תָּנֵאָה.

141. § 538. *Cf.* חֲזִיִת *VL.*, Ber. 30*b*.

141. *Note* 2. *Cf.* תְּנָא (voc.) *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 44.

142. § 538. Notice: חֲדִי *I rejoiced*, Succā 25*b*.

142. § 542;. Notice: תָּאנָן C. MS. M. Q. 3*b*. All the examples given here are more probably participles.

143. § 553. Notice: לְאִיבְעִי Yalqûṭ Numb. 786 = Sanh. 106*a*. Delete לַעֲרוֹבֵי.

145. § 562*d*. Notice: שָׁדִיתִין *VL.*, Taan. 25*a*; בָּעִיתִי *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 26.

146. § 567. *Cf.* לְמֵיסַם (for לְסַמּוֹיֵי) *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 21, passing into ע״ע.

146. *Note* 2. Add: אתפיס = פיס Ber. 28*a*, פכשפ = וכפכשפ.

149. § 575. Add: לַאֲבוֹרַיי ed. pr. *AZ.* 50*b*.

151. § 582*e*. Notice: לְאִישְׁתּוֹרַיי ed. pr. Šebu. 8*b*.

152. § 585. Notice: אִינַּבַּאי *they prophesied*, *VL.*, Meg. 14*a*.

152. § 588. Add: אִישְׁתּוֹעַיי *VL.*, Ber. 46*b*; לְאוּגָּרוֹיֵי Yalq. Lev. 644 = Men. 62*a*.

154. § 595. *Cf.* הָוִין *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 7.

155. § 601. Notice: אֲתִיִת *thou didst come*, *VL.*, Ber. 28*b*.

156. § 602. Notice: אַיְיתִי *I shall come*, Yalqûṭ Is. 419 = Sanh. 96*b*.

PAGE

156. § **603.** Notice: אִיתִי *VL.*, B. B. 151*b*, Yalqûṭ Is. 419? = Sanh. 96*b*.

157. § **611.** Notice: אֵיתוֹ *VL.*, Pes. 30*a*; אֵיתִיאוּ *VL.*, Ber. 31*b*.

158. § **615.** Notice: אִיסְתַּסְיָא (p. 225, n. 4).

161. § **625.** Notice: אִיתְּדַעוּ, אִיתְּוֹדַע and אִיתְּיַדְּעוּ, *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 4; אִיתּוֹתְבִיתוּ Yalqûṭ Jud. 50 = Pes. 87*b*.

161. § **626.** Notice: לְשֵׁיזְבָא *TG.*, ed. Wilna, 1885, § 45; לְשֵׁיזּוּבֵיהּ *SM.* No. xcv.

169. *Note* **1.** From the periphrasis found in Yalqûṭ Is. 416 it is evident that Raši's explanation of תמהיתו is correct. We have here a secondary stem of the biblical Hebr. מִהְמֵה, Arab. مهّا, and should vocalize תַּמְהִיתוּ, partic. act. used as imperative.

170. *Note* **3.** Notice: מַשְׁפַּנְתִּינוּן *he pawned them*, *HG.*, ed. pr., 101*d*.

171. *Note* **2.** Notice: יַהֲבִתּוֹן *ŠÇ.*, IV., § 14.

173. § **677.** Notice: עַיְילוּהִי *SM.* No. xcv.—עִיילָוֵהּ! *ibid.* No. cxiv (voc.).

177. *Note* **4.** For שקילָה read שקילָה.

188. §§ **776–9.** Notice: לְשַׁוּוֹיתָנָא *Igg. Šerîrâ*, ed. Neubauer, p. 46.

192. *Note* **1.** For قشر it is better to compare قصل (Dozy), Eth. qᵊasla *be wounded*, Amh. qᵊisil *scar, wound*.

196. *Note* **2.** To גּוּדָא *cf.* Qamamil gudi *skin, hide*, which Reinisch connects with جِلْد, גִּלְדָּא (*Barea Sprache*, p. 124).—For مُحْمَّ read مُحْمَّلْ; *cf.* Hausa taiki *large bag made of skin*.

203. § **842***d*. *Cf.* also Hebr. כֹּמֶר = Assyr. kâmiru; evidently a shortening of an original כֹּמֵר.

204. § **846.** On the form קָטוֹלָא see now J. F. Weissenbach, *Die arabische Nominalform Fâ'ûl*, München, 1899.

220. *Note* **7.** It is more likely that the stem of עכברא is كَبُرَ *be big, stout*, and the ע a prefix. The same prefix is found in עקרבא *skorpion*, Galla karcabbò, Hausa kunama, from a stem *קרב *to pinch; cf.* Galla karabà *small pincers*, and עַכְּבִישׁ = עַכָּשׁוּב, עַכּוּבִיתָא, عَنْكَبُوت, Nuba korābē, *spider*, √*כבר = כרב* = כשב* = כבש* *to plait, twist, spin*, hence Hebr. כְּבָרָה *sieve* and כְּבִיר, Galla girbi, *thread*, and the verbs כמש, כבש, *to twist*,

PAGE

curl, crumple, press, fade, in the various Semitic languages. On the interchange of ר and sibilant *cf.* p. 193, n. 9, and Hebr. דַּבֶּשֶׁת = Arab. دبر. Also Syriac ܕܒܪܐ (= Hausa koki *female spider*), like German "Spinne," goes back to a verb *to spin; cf.* Hoffmann, *ZA.*, IX., 331, n. 1.

217. § **956.** To כורזילא *cf.* Nuba koros *shepherd.*

226. § **983.** אמרכלא is more probably Twârig amenokal *prince.*

I gladly take opportunity here to express my sincere thanks to Dr. W. Muss-Arnolt for the kind offices he rendered me in connection with the printing and proof-reading of this work.

LIST OF VERB-STEMS.[1]

A. TRICONSONANTAL.

287 (occur only in) Qal.
116 Pa''ēl.
56 Aphʿēl.
31 Itpᵉʿēl.
31 Itpa''al.
2 Šaphʿēl.
1 Itpôʿēl.
72 Qal, Pa''ēl.
62 Qal, Aphʿēl.
57 Pa''ēl, Itpa''al.
67 Qal, Itpᵉʿēl.
8 Aphʿēl, Itpᵉʿēl.
9 Pa''ēl, Aphʿēl.
7 Aphʿēl, Itpa''al.
11 Qal, Itpa''al.
1 Haphʿēl, Ithaphʿal.
2 Qal, Paiʿēl.
1 Qal, Pôʿēl.
2 Pa''ēl, Itpᵉʿēl.
2 Aphʿēl, Ittaphʿal.
57 Qal, Aphʿēl, Itpᵉʿēl.
21 Qal, Aphʿēl, Itpa''al.
25 Qal, Pa''ēl, Aphʿēl.
19 Qal, Pa''ēl, Itpᵉʿēl.
2 Qal, Aphʿēl, Itpa''al.
1 Pa''ēl, Itpa''al, Istaphʿal.
1 Qal, Pa''ēl, Pô''ēl.
2 Qal, Aphʿēl, Ittaphʿal.
1 Qal, Šaphʿēl, Ištaphʿal.
1 Pa''ēl, Aphʿēl, Ittaphʿal.
1 Pa''ēl, Pôʿēl, Itpᵉʿēl.
1 Pa''ēl, Šaphʿēl, Itpa''al.
2 Pa''ēl, Itpᵉʿēl, Itpa''al.
7 Pa''ēl, Aphʿēl, Itpa''al.
2 Pa''ēl, Aphʿēl, Itpᵉʿēl.
8 Qal, Pa''ēl, Itpᵉʿēl, Itpa''al.
14 Qal, Pa''ēl, Aphʿēl, Itpᵉʿēl.
1 Qal, Aphʿēl, Itpᵉʿēl, Itpa''al.
10 Qal, Pa''ēl, Aphʿēl, Itpa''al.
1 Qal, Pa''ēl, Itpᵉʿēl, Ittaphʿal.
2 Qal, Aphʿēl, Itpᵉʿēl, Ittaphʿal.
1 Qal, Šaphʿēl, Itpᵉʿēl, Ištaphʿal.
1 Qal, Pôʿēl, Aphʿēl, Itpᵉʿēl.
1 Qal, Aphʿēl, Itpa''al, Ittaphʿal.
2 Qal, Aphʿēl, Haphʿēl, Ithaphʿal.
2 Qal, Pa''ēl, Aphʿēl, Itpᵉʿēl, Itpa''al.
1 Qal, Pa''ēl, Aphʿēl, Itpa''al, Ittaphʿal.
1 Qal, Pôʿēl, Paiʿēl, Aphʿēl, Itpa''al.

B. PLURICONSONANTALS.

1 Saphʿēl.
4 Taphʿēl.
1 Naphʿēl.
3 Parʿēl.
1 Pašʿēl.
1 Paʿpēl.
1 Paʿlēl.
19 Palpēl.
3 Itpalpal.
2 Parpēl.
5 (denom. and foreign) active.
1 (denom. and foreign) passive.

[1] *Cf.* § 188.

3 Par'ēl, Itpar'al.
1 Pan'ēl, Itpan'al.
1 Pa'tēl, Itpa'tal.
2 Pa'lēl, Itpa'lal.
5 Palpēl, Itpalpal. [passive.
4 (denom. and foreign) active and

Summary.—Of 1013 triconsonantal verbs, 524 occur only in one form; 301, in two; 143, in three; 41, in four; 4, in five.—675 stems occur in Qal; 352, in Pa''ēl.; 296, in Aph'ēl; 268, in Itpe'ēl; 164, in Itpa''al; 5, in Pō'ēl; 3, in Pai'ēl; 3, in Haph'ēl; 5, in Šaph'ēl; 1, in Itpō'al; 10, in Ittaph'al; 3, in Ithaph'al; 2, in Ištaph'al; 1, in Istaph'al.

Of 58 pluriconsonantal verbs, 38 occur only in the active; 4, only in the passive; 16, in both.

INDEX COMPENDIORUM.

AEV.	*The Assyrian E-Vowel.*
AJP.	*American Journal of Philology.*
AJSL.	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.*
'Ar.	'Arākhîn.
A. Z.	'Abôdā Zārā.
BA.	*Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft.*
B. B.	Bâbâ Bâtrâ.
Bekh.	Bekhôrôt.
Ber.	Berākhôt.
B. M.	Bâbâ Meçî'â.
B. Q.	Bâbâ Qammâ.
DLZ.	*Deutsche Literaturzeitung.*
'Er.	'Erûbîn.
ES.	*Etymologische Studien.*
E. Y.	'Ên Ya'aqōb.
Gitt.	Gittîn.
GJPA.	*Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch.*
HG.	*Halākhôt Gedôlôt; Hebräische Grammatik.*
Hal. Pes.	Halākhôt Pesûqôt.
Ḫag.	Ḫagîgā.
Ḫull.	Ḫullîn.
JQR.	*Jewish Quarterly Review.*
Ker.	Kerîtôt.
Keth.	Ketûbôt.
Mak.	Makkôt.
Meg.	Megillā.
Men.	Menāḥôt.
MG.	*Mandäische Grammatik.*
MM.	*Menôrat ha-mā'ôr.*
M. Q.	Mô'ēd Qāṭān.
MV.	*Maḥzôr Vitry.*
MWGJ.	*Monatsschrift für die Wissenschaft und Geschichte des Judenthums.*
MWJ.	*Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums.*
Näz.	Nāzîr.
NB.	*Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen.*
Ned.	Nedārîm.
NSG.	*Neu-syrische Grammatik.*
PEF.	*Palestine Exploration Fund.*
Pes.	Pesāḥîm.
PSBA.	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archœology.*
Qidd.	Qiddûšîn.
RÉJ.	*Revue des Études juives.*
R. H.	Rôš ha-šānā.
Sabb.	Sabbāt.
Sanh.	Sanhedrîn.
SFG.	*Sumerische Familiengesetze.*
SG.	*Syrische Grammatik.*
SM.	*Sippûrê Ma'asiyyôt*, ed. Gaster.
Taan.	Ta'anît.
Tām.	Tāmîd.
TB.	*Talmûd Bablî.*
Tem.	Temûrâ.
TG.	*Tešûbôt ha-ge'ônîm.*
TM.	*Des Samaritaners Marqah Erzählung über den Tod Moses'.*
TR.	*Tôrātān šel Rišônîm.*
TWb.	*Targumisches Wörterbuch.*
VL.	*Variae lectiones.*
Wb.	Wörterbuch.
WBH.	*Wateh ben Hazael.*
WZKM.	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.*
Yeb.	Yebāmôt.
ZA.	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*
ZDMG.	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
ZATW.	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.*
Zeb.	Zebāḥîm.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Preface, - - - - - - - - - - v, vi

Introduction, - - - - - - - - 1–4

I. Script and Orthography.

Script, §§ 1–6: *Letters*, § 1—*Vowels*, § 2—*Numerals*, § 3—*Reading of Numerals*, § 4—*Diacritical Signs*, §§ 5, 6, - 5, 6

Orthography, §§ 7–13, - - - - - 6, 7

II. Phonology.

A. Consonants, §§ 14–67: *General Remarks*, § 14—*Pronunciation*, § 15—*Gutturals*, §§ 16, 17—*Palatals*, §§ 18, 19—*Linguals*, § 20—*Sibilants*, § 21—*Labials*, § 22—*Dāghēš and Rāphè*, § 23—*Changes of Consonants*, §§ 24–43—*Doubling*, § 44—*Resolution of Doubling*, § 45—*Insertion of Consonants*, §§ 46–48—*Assimilation*, §§ 49–52—*Dissimilation*, § 53—*Vanishing of Consonants*, §§ 54–66—*Transposition of Consonants*, § 67, - - 8–21

B. Vowels, §§ 68–93: *Imâlè*, §§ 68, 69—*Obscuration of â*, § 70—*Vocalic Epenthesis*, § 71—*Influence of Consonants on Vowels*, §§ 72–74—*Fluctuating Vocalization*, § 75—*Compensatory Lengthening*, § 77—*Heightening and Depression of Vowels*, § 78—*Diphthongs*, §§ 79–81—*Contraction of Vowels*, §§ 82, 83—*Retention of Disappearing and Insertion of New Vowels*, §§ 84–88—*Loss of Vowels*, §§ 89–92—*Accent*, § 93, - - - 22–29

III. Morphology.

Pronouns.

A. Personal Pronouns, §§ 94–115: *Independent Personal Pronouns*, §§ 94–97—*Enclitic Personal Pronouns*, §§ 98–106—*Possessive Suffixes*, §§ 107–111—*Objective Suffixes*, §§ 112–115, - - - - - 30–35

B. Demonstrative Pronouns, §§ 116–122, - - - 35–37
C. Copulative Pronouns, §§ 123–127, - - - - 37–39
D. Relative Pronoun, § 128, - - - - 39
E. Interrogative Pronouns, § 129, - - - - 39, 40
F. Indefinite Pronouns, §§ 130–135, - - - 40

NUMERALS.

A. Cardinals, §§ 136–146, - - - - - 41–44
B. Ordinals, §§ 147–151, - - - - - 44, 45
C. Fractional Numbers, §§ 152–155, - - - - 45, 46
D. Other Denumerative Nouns, § 156, - - - 46

ADVERBS AND ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS.

Adverbs of Place, §§ 157, 158—*Adverbs of Time*, § 159—*Adverbs of Manner*, §§ 160, 161—*Adverbs of Quantity*, § 162—*Interrogative Adverbs*, §§ 163–166—*Affirmative Adverbs*, § 167—*Negative Adverbs*, § 168—*Adverbs of Doubt*, § 169, - - - - - - - 46–50

PREPOSITIONS.

Inseparable Prepositions, §§ 170–173—*Separate Prepositions*, §§ 174–178—*Prepositions with Pronominal Suffixes*, §§ 179–181, - - - - - - - 50–55
Conjunctions, §§ 182–184, - - - - - 55–57
Interjections, §§ 185–186, - - - - - 58

THE VERB.

In General, § 187—*In Particular*, §§ 188–198—*Moods and Tenses*, § 199—*Afformatives of the Perfect*, §§ 200–206—*Preformatives of the Imperfect*, §§ 207–213—*Afformatives of the Imperfect*, §§ 214–216—*Afformatives of the Imperative*, §§ 217–220—*The* בְּ*-prefix of Infinitive and Participle*, § 221—*Afformatives of the Infinitive*, §§ 222, 223—*Afformatives of the Participle*, §§ 224–226—*Structure of Verb*, §§ 227–233—*Gender*, § 234—*Number*, § 235, - 59–69

Strong Verb, §§ 236–373—*Verbs* פ״ן, §§ 374–408—*Verbs* פ״א, §§ 409–420—*Verbs* ע״א, §§ 421–426—*Verbs* פו״י, §§ 427–447—*Verbs* ע״ע, §§ 448–474—*Verbs* ע״ו, §§ 475–530—*Verbs* ל״א, ל״ו, *and* ל״י, §§ 531–590—*Doubly Weak Verbs*, §§ 591–615—*Rare Conjugations*, §§ 616–644, - 70–165

Verbs with Objective Suffixes, §§ 645–780: *Verbs not* ל״ה, §§ 645–723—*Verbs* ל״ה, §§ 724–780, - - - 165–188

THE NOUN.

General Remarks, §§ 781–787, - - - - - 188–191

SUMMARY OF NOMINAL FORMS.

I. Internal Vowel Change Only, §§ 788–875: *One Short vowel*, §§ 788–820—*Two Short Vowels*, §§ 821–840—*Long Vowel in the First Syllable and Short Vowel in the Second*, §§ 841–854—*Short Vowel in the First Syllable and Long Vowel in the Second*, §§ 855–875, 191–208

II. Internal Vowel Change with Sharpening of Second Stem-Consonant, §§ 876–901: *Two Short Vowels*, §§ 876–881—*Short Vowel in the First Syllable and Long Vowel in the Second*, §§ 882–901, - - 209–211

III. Preformatives, §§ 902–950, - - - - 211–214

IV. Afformatives, §§ 951–963, - - - - 214–222

V. Diphthongized Forms, §§ 964–966, - - - 221, 222

VI. Reduplicated Forms, §§ 967–976, - - - 222–224

VII. Infixes, §§ 977–982, - - - - - 224–226

VIII. Pluriconsonantal, § 983, - - - - 226

APPENDIX.

Hypocoristic Endings, § 984, - - - - - 227

Gender, Number, and State, §§ 985–988—*Plural Terminations*, §§ 989, 990—*Formation of the Plural*, §§ 991, 992—*Nouns with Possessive Suffixes*, §§ 993–1004—*Nominal Compounds*, §§ 1005, 1006, - - - - - 227–236

Additions and Corrections, - - - - - 237–248

List of Verb-stems, - - - - - - - 249, 250

Index Compendiorum, - - - - - 251

THE PALESTINIAN VOCALIZATION.

By Professor C. Levias,
Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.

Through the kind offices of one of my students, Mr. William H. Feinschreiber, I had the opportunity to examine some manuscript fragments in possession of a Syrian gentleman and get the latter's permission to copy the text published here.

Said fragments contain small portions from Bible and Targum, from the daily prayer-book, from the Talmud and the Mishna, and from the Maḥazor, a portion of an Arabic poem, and a cabalistic work whose beginning and end are missing.

Among these fragments the most interesting are two, viz.: two connected parchment leaves containing some chapters from Mishna Miqwāôt, with biblical accents and partial vocalization, and one parchment leaf from the Maḥazor, with Palestinian vocalization. From the vocalized words of the Mishna fragment the following are worth mentioning: אַמְבַּטֵי, מִקְוֶה and מִקְוֵה, and צֵיר "brine."

The Maḥazor fragment is a much mutilated parchment leaf, written on both sides in old square hand, containing four entire *piûṭim* and the last part of a fifth *piût*. The first verses of the four poems are:

אלהי עולם מימות עולם
אל אב אבל על פשעו
אתה אלהי ישראל
אתה אומר ועושה

They are all alphabetical, except toward the end, and are, as far as I can see, unknown. The text is partly vocalized with the recently discovered so-called Palestinian vocalization. As this is the second piece with such vocalization known, a publication of it will not fail to attract attention, especially since this fragment offers additions to, and modifications of, the system discovered and explained by Dr. Friedländer.

The upper part of the leaf and the upper part of one of the side margins have crumbled away. Besides, there are fissures and lacunæ in the middle. The lower margin is torn, but still preserved, and shows a ragged edge on which there are traces of writing. These traces are too far away from the left margin to have belonged to the custos, but must be a remnant of a lower page, singular as this may appear.

Of orthographical peculiarities the following are to be noticed: The ending of the second pers. masc. perf. is always written תה. The words אלהים, אלהי, אלהיך are abbreviated to ים or אים, אהי, איך, with abbreviation signs. The א frequently lacks its left leg in these abbreviated forms. The same incomplete א is frequently found in the word אל; also in נא and in ואל = ואתה קדוש. In אל the ל also sometimes lacks its lower stroke. But the incomplete א and ל are never written together as one sign. The *šin* has no diacritical point, but the *śin* is written שׂ or שׁ, for the explanation of which see below. The vowels may be written doubly, either both on top, the one above the consonant, the other above the *mater lectionis;* or the one on top above the consonant, the other below, either under the same consonant or under the *mater lectionis*. The conjunctive dâgēš may be written on the final letter of the preceding word.

As interpunction marks serve the single dot, the double dot, and the circle. The single dot may be written above the word, below the word, or on the upper line between two words. Like the vowels, it may be written doubly. The significance of some of the dots is not apparent. The double dot, or colon, is always written between two words, so that the upper dot rests on the upper line, while the lower dot never touches the lower line, but rests between the lines. The circle is found but once, and is written on the upper line between two words. All the poems but one, which begins a new paragraph, are written continuously.

Of grammatical peculiarities notice that קמץ and פתח are sometimes interchanged; that instead of šewâ we find sometimes a full vowel; and that the pronominal ending ־ך, wherever vocalized, is pronounced ־ךָ. Ḥōlem and short qâmēç, çērê, and šūreq are respectively not differentiated.

The following table illustrates the differences between the system found by Dr. Friedländer = F and the one used in this text = L:

	F	L
קמץ גדול	מֹ	מֹ
פתח	מַ	מַ
צרי	מֵ	מֵ
סגול	מֶ	מֶ
חרק	מִ	מִ
חולם	מֹ	מֹ
קמץ חטוף	wanting	מֳ
שורק, קבוץ	מֻ	מֻ
שוא נע	מְ	מְ, מֽ
שוא נח	wanting	מְ
דגש	מּ, מְּ	מּ
רפה	wanting	מְ

The difference, then, as far as the two systems, or rather developments of the same system, can be compared, consists in the different denotation of צרי and שוא. The sign מּ for דגש and the differentiation of סגול from צרי point to F being a later development.

This system is evidently based on that of the Nestorian Syriac, together with that of Arabic. Some of the signs are bodily taken over, others are modified. Thus, the sign for פתח is the Syriac half ܰ, the Arabic ـَ, originally ـ, differing only in position from the פתח in the Tiberian system. The קמץ, as in Arabic, is a perpendicular פתח, showing that it was pronounced ā, not å; a fact still more emphasized by the קמץ חטוף having another sign. The sign for צרי and סגול is that of ܶ ܸ; that for חרק is ܺ ܼ, only turned in a perpendicular direction. The sign for שורק is a combination of ܽ and of ܼ, indicating that the sound *u* inclined toward *o*. The sign for חולם is a combination of that of שורק with that of ܼ, indicating that the sound *o* inclined toward *u*. The sign for שוא is a modification

of that of סגול. The sign for דגש, שוא, רפה, and שׁ is the Arabic ǧezm. It is to be supposed that the last sign did also service for מפיק.

To understand how one and the same sign could be used for five different purposes, we must make a digression to investigate the etymology and significance of the term דגש. The word comes from a verb now found only in Ethiopic: *daqasa* "to recline, rest," from which we also get the "bed" דרגש. It is, therefore, a translation of the Arabic سكون. Its sign, the circle, symbolizes "emptiness." The original function of דגש was, therefore, that of the later שוא, *i. e.*, silent šewâ, a meaning still found in the Massorah. As a sign of rest it could also serve for רפה on the ה, and hence its use spread to the בגדכפת. In order not to confound it with דגש in the modern sense of that term, its sign was modified. We must, however, keep in mind that in Syriac the sign for ܣܡܟܢ and ܪܟܘܟ, *i. e.*, for דגש and רפה, is the same.

Now, the process we call dageshing has been conceived to have two functions: that of doubling and that of hardening. The former is expressed by the Arabic تَضْعِيف. The latter is expressed in the Syriac term ܣܡܟܢ and in the Arabic تَشْدِيد. Viewing it from the point of doubling, מַ, *e. g.*, was = מַמַ־. Therefore, when the Massorah remarks, *e. g.*, מ׳ בדגש, it means to say: the מ contains a שוא נח, another vowelless מ. Looking at it from the point of view of hardening, strengthening, or emphasizing, it is not difficult to understand how the verb הדגיש came to mean "to pronounce distinctly, emphatically." Under such a conception the sign could be used on the one hand for מפיק, on the other hand to denote the hard sound of ש. But, since the Arabic تَشْدِيد is written ـّـ, שׁ could be denoted either שׁ or שּׁ = שּׁ. The term דגש was further used to denote a group of sounds called in Syriac grammar ܒܓܕ̈ܟܦ̈ܬ. *Cf.* my note in *AJSL.*, Vol. XIV, p. 129.

Turning now to the other two systems of vocalization, we find some elements of the Palestinian system taken over, with more or less modification, and other elements modeled after the Arabic. Thus, in the Babylonian system, as it has already been pointed out

by others, the sign for פתח is an abbreviated א, modeled after the Arabic, where the same is the case. The sign of the קמץ is the same פתח with its upper horizontal bar raised toward the perpendicular, corresponding to the Arabic sign for long *a*. The sign for צרי is a modification of the Palestinian. That for vocal šewâ is the sign for Syriac ܟܸ, of which חטף is a translation.[1] The sign for חולם is a combination of those of ܘܼ and ܘܹ. The sign for שורק is, like the Arabic, the letter ו. The sign for חרק is the Syriac ܟܺ, perhaps suggesting י.

In the Tiberian system, פתח, צרי, and חרק are the same as in the preceding. קמץ is a combination of פתח and חולם, an explanation already given by Ibn Ezra.[2] שוא is the same as in the Palestinian system, and the סגול is a modification of it. The חולם and שורק signs are the Syriac ܘܼ and ܘܹ, respectively. The dot of the שורק should have come under the ו, but was placed inside of it to avoid confusion with חרק. The sign of קבוץ is a modification of the חולם of the Palestinian system. The רפה sign is that of the שוא in the Babylonian system. That sign serves also in the latter for דגש, just as in the Palestinian system these two are identical. Finally, the sign for מפיק, דגש, and שׁ is all one. It remains to find the origin of the dot for the דגש. This dot was suggested by the meaning of the Syriac verb ܡܚܲ, "to pierce." But this may also be Syriac ܡܸ.

The dot on the שׁ is a later development, as a contrast to שׂ.

It should be added that the דגש sign, instead of being a half-circle (ـٔـ), is sometimes more angular (ـٜـ), and thus closely resembles the tašdîd sign in the Maghrib ductus (ـّـ) of Arabic writing.

recto.

מְשֻׁגָּב לְתֹם נְחִיתָה : נְוֹהֵג ··· מְמַעַי אִמּוֹ : צְיוּרֵיתָה יִשְׁעֵךְ ··· שִׁמְךָ
בִּשְׁמוֹ עִירַבְתָּה : שְׁאֵרִיתוֹ לְטוּב עֵרַבְתָּה : ··· יְוֹדוּעַ שִׁמְךָ וְיֻדַּע עִמָּךְ
שִׁמ[ךָ] וְכֹל הַנִּקְרָא בְ ··· שִׁמְךָ : נִין אֲשֶׁר יְצַרְתָּה לְכָבוֹדְךָ וְצִרְתָּה
דְּמוּ[תְ]וֹ בְּכִסֵּא כְּבוֹדְךָ : יַעֲק[ב] ··· וְאַתָּה אֱהִי יַעֲקֹב · יִשְׂרָאֵל נִיקְרָא

[1] *Cf.* Levias in *AJSL.*, Vol. XIII, p. 79.

[2] צחות ed. Lippmann, 3*b*. Kautzsch, in his last edition of *Gesenius' Hebr. Gram.*, p. 36, note 1, curiously terms this explanation "die Entdeckung Nestle's"!

ואתה אדני ישר[א]אל : יהי חקם לו את אשר קרא[ת]ה וכונן עליו כל
אשר אמרתה כי ועתה כה אמר [יי] בוראך ונ כל הנקרא בשמי ואף
אל נא בצאתו ובבואו ברוך יעקב אשר בשמו תברוך אדני יעקב
מזכירים שמו ומברכים שמך כי הזכרתה שמו בזכרון שבק בשכינת
הוד נוראיתה עוד וביכלתו למיעוד בלי למעוד כי את[ה] תברך וצדיק
יתברך ׳ ברוך יום אדני ישראל כי בשם ישראל תתברך ברוך וקדוש
אדני עולם מימות עולם לימדתה עלוה לבאי [עולם] ברכת חתנים
לימדתה מיצייר ועירו [or ועזרו] וביקור חולים מאב מילה בגוזרו : גם
ניחום אבילים מאיש תם הודעתה בעת בדרך פדן עליו נודעתה : דרך
כל כהוקרא בדרך למיליקה [בנ]ש ...[3]

רבקה באה כי נעתקה ... לא שליו מכאיב כם ירך ושרם שקט
מיתיה עליו בדרך בור ... מינקת המחוללת בא רוגז על מיתת
תחוללת : זעק ונאבל מש[ה] ... לאותו מקום ניקרא אלון בכות : חי
בכן נראיתה לו לנחמו וברכת א[ברהם?] על אימו : שיכוס שם חדש
אותו בקוראך נקרא קדואך ומקוראך : יעקב [שבך?] תונלב[4] וגם לא
תועלב[4] ישרתה לשרי אל תיקרא ישראל לעולם וירא אים ... אל אב
אביל על פ[יש?]ו[5] בעת ישב לשבור שבועו : בעבור לידעו כי הוא
משיעו ... קדוש ישראל מושיעו : אל גלוים בבכא לבוד במקום אשר
אין שם לבוד : דרש ... לחלוק לו לבוד ונגלה לו בבוד אל הלבוד :
אל המיחם בביקלו צאן רועה ישראל ניחגו כצאן : ומילטו מאנשי
לצון ועישטרו כצינה רצון : אל זכור נדרו אשר נשה וכיבשתו לכן
נעגשה : חרדת עבלו אתו נישא והודיעו כי לא נושא : אל טהור
ותמים דרכים אשר שעך טרחות דרכים : ילדיו בהיראות ברוכים
מלאכי צבאות בם מברכים : אל כומס בכורה וברכה ונקרא בן בכור
ואב ברכה : לעת יצא ניכללה לו ברכה ועת בא ניכפלה לו ברכה :
אל מובא מארם מרובע ובמיחנותיו נתרבע : נשים ופילגשים ארבע ...

[3] The upper parts of בנ are still visible. The word was probably בְּנִשּׂוֹא.
[4] The sign ל, though written over the ק, seems to belong to the ב.
[5] The upper parts of יש are still recognizable.

verso.

· · · בֵּיתוֹ מְמֻנָּה יִיבֵן · עֲלֵיו כֹּהֵן · · · רִגְלוֹ לֹא נִגֹּפָה · · וְהֹולֵךְ
בְּתֹם וְלִקְהֻלִּיתוֹ חֻבַּשׁ מְתֻם צְדָקַת בִּרְכָתוֹ לְחַתֻּם כִּי לֹ · · דִּיוֹ[6]
יְתֻם · אֵל קְרָאוֹי הָיָה בְּשֵׁם יַעֲקֹב לְבַל יִקְרָא עוֹד יַעֲקֹב · · · [?ע]וְתוֹ
בְּמִישׁוֹ[ר] עֲקֹוב וְשֵׁם כִּשְׁמוֹ אֹתוֹ לְנַקֹּוב · אֵל שָׁלֵם בְּכָל וּמְכֹולָל · · · ת
נִיתְכַּלְלוּ · תְּ · · · שְׁמוֹ נִיבָּלֵל וְנִיכָּלֵל וְשְׁמוֹ יִצָּא וְנִיתְבַּלֵּל · וּבְכֵן · · · הָיָה
שְׁ אַתָּה [אֵ]הֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל · בֵּךְ יִגֵּל יַעֲקֹב וְיִשְׂמַח יִשְׁ · גָּדוֹל הוּא שְׁבִיךְ
[בִּישְׁ · דְּבָרֵךְ אַךְ] טֹוב עַל יִשְׁ · הֹודֹתֵךְ [לְ]אֵב לִישְׁ · וּמִשְׁתַּיֵּת אֵבֵן
יִשְׁ · זֶה יִקְרָא בְּשֵׁם [יִשְׁ · חְ]קֹוקָה עִדֹּות לִישְׁ · טֹרֵם [תִּתֵּךְ] חֹוק
לִישְׁ · יְיַדַּעְתָּה אֲהִי יִשְׁ · כִּי אַתָּה אִם בְּ[יִשְׁ ·] לָכֵן יֵאָבֵר נָא [יִשְׁ ·]
מַלְכוּתְ[ךָ] מֹלֵךְ יִשְׁ · נִיצָּב יֹושֵׁב תְּהִילוֹת יִשְׁ · סִיחַ אֵלָה אֵיךְ [יִשְׁ ·] עֹוד
לֹא יִיזָּכֵר בִּישְׁ · פְּקֹוד מִסְפַּר בְּנֵי יִשְׁ · צְבָאוֹת מְתֵי יִשְׁ · קְרֹושׁ אַשְׁרֵיךְ
יִשְׁ · רְאֵשִׁית קֹודֶשׁ יִשְׁ · שְׁבַּח גְּאֻוֹתֵךְ[7] עַל יִשְׁ · תְּבָרֵךְ אֶת בֵּית יִשְׁ · כִּי
בִּרְכָתְךָ בְּשֵׁם יִשְׁ · וְקִדֻּשָׁתְךָ בְּשֵׁם יַעֲקֹב וְצְבָאוֹת מַעֲלֶה וּמַטֶּה זֶה יִקְרָא
בְּשֵׁם יַעֲקֹב וְזֶה יִכָּנֶה בְּשֵׁם יִשְׁ וְזֶה יֵאָמֵר בָּרוּךְ הוּא וְזֶה יֵאָמֵר קָדוֹשׁ
הוּא וְהוּא מְבֹורָךְ בָּם וְנִקְדַּשׁ בָּם כָּל וְקָרָא

וישב יעקב

אַתָּה אוֹמֵר וְעֹשֶׂה · בְּיָאוֹר מֵאֲמִירְךָ מֵעֹשֶׂה · גְּבַר אֲשֶׁר בָּךְ יֶחְסֶה ·
דְּבָרְךָ בּוֹ יָקוֹם · · · הַבְטַחְתָּה · · · אֵשׁ · וְהֶחְסִיתָהּ לְנַעֲקֹד בְּמִזְבַּח אֵשׁ ·
זִימַּנְתָּהּ [לוֹ אֵשׁ ·] חָנָּהּ בָּהּ הוּא וּבֵיתוֹ הַמְשֻׁלּוֹל בְּאֵשׁ · טֹוב בִּרְכוֹת
הִשְׁאַבְתָּ · יְהֵיר · · · כְּעֵת אֲשֶׁר בְּשָׁלֹום הִישַׁבְתָּ · לְבַטֵּחַ בַּד הִשַּׁבְתָּ ·
כֹּל וְישֵׁב נָ לְאָמֵר לְךָ אֵתָן · · · תֵּכֶם מְתֵי בָּהּ תִּטְעֵינוּ וּמַנָּהּ בַּל
תַּטְעֵינוּ · · · נִטְעֵינוּ בְּ · · · אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁבֹּו אֲחִים · נְתַן קְטֹטֶת בֵּין אֲחִים ·
סְ · · · טֹוב וְנָעִים · עֲבוּר · · · אֲחִיו נֹחִים · פְּעֻלַּת מֵעֲלֵיהֶם הָרֹעִים ·
צֹאן בְּעֵת הִיו [רֹועִים ·] קְרֹושׁ לִפְנֵי אֵב הַנְּעִים · רַךְ הַנִּיכָּר בְּמַעֲלָיו
כִּי נָעִים · שִׁפְּלוּ בְנֵי אִימָּהוֹת שְׁחוּ בְנֵי אִמָּהוֹת · תְּמוּר · · · מִיצוּי קֵץ

[6] This ד may also be ר.

[7] The sign ⸗ is used here in the sense of the Massoretic רפה = חטף.

לידות : תקם וניתיחס ראש לתולדות כל אלה ת לכו חזו מפעלות
[יי :] רועה ישראל הופיעה מרומים עלינו ברחמים והטלל תחית
רדומים ב . . . ישבת מנוח אז לא מצאנו בכל הארצות אשר יצאנו :
נידמינו לאיש תם אשר ישב במושבותיו ותעולל עין בנאי ישבותינו
ישובה אין לטבטי זרע צדיק עד יפרעו כסם אשר מכרו צדיק : ובואי
ושובו ושוד לא יונשב רם בנוה שלום ישבו ויתישבו כל וישב עמי
בנוה ונ וישבו על אדמתם וא ק אל נא

The bracketed consonants and words are attempts to fill up the lacunæ.

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